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सम्पादकीयम्

चिन्मय-इन्टर्नेशनल-फाउण्डेशन-शोधसंस्थानेन प्रकाशितायां शोधपत्रिकामालायां चतुर्थपुष्पिकेयं धीमहि तत्र भवतां विद्वद्वरेण्यानां करकमलेषु समर्प्यते। अस्माभिः सततं प्रयत्यते यत्किमपि नूतनं तथ्यं, नवीनविचारः, नूत्ना शैली, अर्वाचीना रुचिः, नवोन्मेषा प्रतिभा च भवतां समक्षं प्रस्तोतव्यमिति। अस्मिन् प्रकाशने व्याकरण-भाषाविज्ञान-शैव-अद्वैत-न्याय-काव्य-पाण्डुलिपिविज्ञानविषयेषु शोधलेखाः स्वीकृताः सन्ति। आचार्यलोकेशचन्द्र-नारायणजोशी-तन्मयबाबू-उण्णि-मुकुन्द-वसिष्ठनारायण-उज्ज्वला-वसन्तभट्ट-गीर्वाणी-नारायणदासादीनां विख्यातख्यातिप्राप्तानां विद्वद्भूषणानां शोधलेखाः शोधार्थीनां पाठकानां च नूतनं मार्गमुद्घाटयिष्यन्तीति विश्वासः। अस्य प्रकाशनस्य सम्पादनाय शोधसंस्थानस्याध्यक्षाः श्रीमद्भ्यः के. जि. पौलोसमहोदयेभ्यः शोधसंस्थानस्य सहकर्मिभ्यः राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानस्य कुलपतिकुलसचिवमहोदयेभ्यः एवञ्च संस्थानाधिकारिभ्यश्च न केवलं मम धन्यवादाः अपि तु तेभ्यः मम प्रणमाञ्जलयः निवेद्यन्ते।

भवतां विद्वदनुचरः

दिलीप कुमार राणा

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1

'Comparative Archaeology' of the Buddhist Cosmopolis

Lokesh Chandra

The Awakening curiosity of the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance in the 15th century gave rise to archaeological thought as part of the interest in the history of ideas in classical Greece and Rome. The philosophical orientation of archaeology centered around the classical lands, and by extension to the Bible lands. The very first archaeological excavations were organized in Greece and that too immediately after its liberation from Ottoman domination in 1828. Likewise Buddhist archaeology represents the twin aspects of classical archaeology: the fine arts or museums branch and the scholarly branch wherein excavations can be explained in terms of extensive and intensive literature not only in Sanskrit and Pali but also in Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Simhalese, Burmese, Cambodian, Thai, Old Javanese, etc. All of them contribute to comprehend the materials exhumed. Buddhism has been human endeavour to reconstitute itself free from theocentric despotism. Buddhist liberalism awakened open paradigms, for example, sinocentrism reached out to the multiple Buddhist paradises of Sukhāvatī, Ābhirati and so on. The Chinese quest for sūtras across different lands became cosmopolitan sharing. Buddhist archaeology is pan-Asian and represents the glittering profusion of masterfully faceted diamonds to represent the dazzling relativity of multiple lands. The antiquities of Buddhism extend over twenty former and present states of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asian region with "thirty-six kingdoms" according to Chinese annals, Parthia, China, Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mangolian Peoples Republic, Buryatia, Kalmykia, Bhutan, Srilanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Indonesia.

The paper dealt with a more precise and more subtle interpretation of archaeological discoveries from the Buddhist sites of Asia. True to the contemporary spirit of globalization the profound silence of the

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monastic remains will become a dazzling reality of several lands beaming in the fraternity of values. The antiques exhumed from historic sites, and the standing monuments will find meaning in a social, political and philosophical context by the immense corpus of the written heritage in more than twenty languages, each supplementing the others, filling in the gaps and providing linkages of each others' lacunas. Buddhist archaeology with its exhumed materials ruined monuments with architectural grace, sculptures and murals and vast written resources are reminiscent of the flow of historic time, in the passion of the eyes, the essence of thought in the philosophic moorings of the Avataṃsaka, Prajñāpāramitā, the Lotus Sūtra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa and thousands of other sūtras and śāstras. Whenever I traversed the vast Buddhist world, monks and academics had a perennial question: why do Indian scholars not study our traditions, as they will be able to enlighten us on problems that stem from the long pre-Buddhist Indic traditions taken as well-known and hence not spoken of in the texts of Buddhism. The complexity and sophistication of Buddhist archaeology in several countries with its ineffable miracle of time, space, volume and mind can be understood more precisely in a global elucidation.

The multi-national archaeology of Buddhism resonates inextricable complexity of thought and morphology, which can be clarified only by a comparative study of individual themes in several countries and across many centuries. To give an example, the painting from the dome of the Kakrāk Cave temple in Afghanistan can be identified only from the Amitāyus-sūtra translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman on 252 AD. They are the Twelve Light Buddhas (Chin. Kuang-fo) in the cycle of Amityāyus. The last translation of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha into Chinese was done by Fa-hsien of Kashmir in 991 AD, which enumerates thirteen epithets of the central Amitāyus with Twelve Light Buddhas. The Twelve Light Buddhas are still worshipped in the Pure Land Sect in Japan.

When the Taliban blew up a stone statue of the Buddha in one of the caves near the Bamiyan Valley, hundreds of fragments of manuscripts were rescued by local people taking refuge in the caves. They are in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts and date between the first and the seventh

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century. They come from a library of the Mahāsāṅghikas. These five thousand fragments on palmleaf, birch-bark and vellum embody the oldest traces of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. The Japanese Broadcasting Station NHK showed the site, the codices and the pots in which some of the texts were found. Indian scholarship needs to take interest in this discovery of manuscripts of the earliest period from the Gāndhāra region for the first time.

The new discoveries in Central Asia during the last fifty years by Chinese archaeologists have brought up hundreds of Kharoṣṭhī tablets from Niya in Gāndhārī Prakrit. They are unique in being the only administrative documents of the second century in any Indian language. Wherever the Chinese excavate in Xinjiang they find Sanskrit documents and they hope that someday an international seminar on "*Sanskrit on the Silk Route*" will take place. The antiquities discovered in the first quarter of the 20th century by Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Pelliot and others still await precise identification. For instance, the ivory plaque from Yotkan in the *Sven Hedin Collection* at the Ethnographical Museum at Stockholm can be identified only by the series of 132 Ngor maṇḍalas from Tibet as Vajravārāhī and confirmed by sādhana 217 of Advayavajra in the Sadhanamālā. The plaque could have been enshrined in a royal chapel and worshipped to preempt the clouds of aggression hovering over Khotan in the 10th century. Dr. Amarendra Nath's paper on the pan-Asian context of Mahāmāyūrī is a commendable attempt to study this Goddess of protection, one of the Pañca-rakṣā, whose earliest depiction from Japan goes to the ninth century. The Tokharian mummis in the Museum at ÜrÜmchi come from Loulan where Sven Hedin dug Kharoṣṭhī tablets similar in language to those Stein found at Niya. It raises hosts of questions: does Gāndhārī Prakrit indicate that the Tokharians came from Tokharistan in Gāndhāra? Loulan was an important stop in the desert on the ancient route to the west. The Chinese commandery at Loulan ceased to function around 330 AD. The earliest mummy of the 'Loulan Beauty' has been dated to 2000 BC. The parallelism of language and textile links form ties between these Central Asian mummies and the West. Indian archaeologists have to study their ethnicity, textiles and documents using Prakrit for administrative purposes.

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I-tsing (635-713) wrote the lives of sixty monks who travelled to India in search of Dharma in the Great T'ang dynasty during his sojourn at Palembang on way home in 685 AD. He mentions that master Hui-lun, native of Silla (Korea), visited a monastery which was in ruins and only its brick foundations were visible. It was called the Chih-na or China Monastery which was built by Mahārāja Śrīgupta for Chinese monks. He was the founder of Gupta dynasty and reigned in the fourth century. In the time of I-tsing there were more than twenty Chinese monks at the nearby monastery of Mṛgasthāpana. It would be interesting to investigate the site of these two monasteries, as Chinese monks used to come here by the sea route. The history of navigation of the South Seas by various nations and its descriptions in the lives of Buddhist monks is a fascinating chapter of transmission of ideas, goods, technologies and of who ruled the waves.

In 1987 relics of Lord Buddha were dug from the stūpa at the Famen Monastery, whose original structure was constructed in 147 AD to house the holy śarīra. These relics are said to have been donated by Emperor Aśoka whose seated statue is shown handing them over to the Chinese emperor. This statue had been wrongly identified as that of Lakṣmī at an exhibition of the Famen Monastery at Taipei (Taiwan) where I saw it in 2010, alongwith various statues, objects and an estampage of the Chinese inscription detailing the history of the holy relics. Aśoka had exiled his ministers and a prince to Khotan, and the '*Nidāna of the Extraction of the Eyes of the Prince of Aśoka*' translated by Dharmānandī in 391AD (K 1018) mentions that Kucha was 'one of the parts of the great empire which Aśoka proposed to give over to his son Kuṇāla' (Watters 904:1.59). Aśoka could have had contacts with China, and the relic excavated from the crypt of the Famen Monastery could be Aśokan. As early as the third century BC, a group of Buddhist monks headed by Shih-li-fang brought hundreds of sūtras to the capital of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (ruled 221-208 BC), first Emperor of China who built the Great Wall. The *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāṭa, translated by Kumārajīva during 402-412 AD., speaks of merchants of Taxila who traded with China and became very affluent (Edouard Huber,

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Sūtrālaṅkāra, 1908:213f.). The finds from the crypt of the Famen Monastery deserve to be studied by Indian archaeologists and historians of art.

A large number of paintings from Tun-huang have been identified as those of Avalokiteśvara. They are standing, with their hands in añjali-mudrā in permanent worship. They do not seem to be Avalokiteśvara, but are votive bodhisattvas donated in the memory of departed dear ones by their relatives. Prof. Nirmala Sharma and me have proved this by the dedicatory Chinese inscriptions accompanying a few of them. There are statues of bodhisattvas in añjali, sitting with their feet turned inside in the Central Asian style. They are clearly distinguished as dedicatory statues by their secular posture of sitting: they are deceased devotees become bodhisattvas dressed in a dhotī like the divine bodhisattvas.

The Six Principles of Painting of Hsieh-ho were related to the ṣaḍaṅga theory from a Sanskrit stanza in Yaśodhara's commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* 1.3.15, Hsieh-ho had enunciated these principles under the influence of the Tattvasiddhi movement begun by the disciples of Kumārajīva who translated Harivarman's *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* in 411 - 412 AD. These principles have been interpreted as abstract concepts referring to the inner sensibility of the painter as well as formal elements of a figurative tradition. Their interpretation has been a problem in Chinese aesthetics due to the abstract nature of grammar in an uninflected language. The Sanskrit 'tattva' has been rendered as 'is actually what-it-is' (Peter Way, How to read Xie Ho's *Six Principles, in East and West,* 1997: 47.288). The seminar of the international community of scholarship on pan-Asian study of immense treasures of the 'world as a jewelled Buddha field' in the words of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa is the first and unique in its synoptic view of Buddhist archaeology which of course includes art that enriches the caves of Ajanta, Tunhuang, Kizil, Borobudur and hundreds of other monuments. This holistic view of the Archaeological Survey of India will elucidate the complex ambiguities of Asian monuments as well as bring nations closer in academic endeavours.

Let us take the Buddhist archaeology of Korea. I-tsing says: 'Those who respect the cocks are the people of Korea, which is called

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Kukkuteśvara'(Takakusu's translation p.17). Korean annals state that a Princess of Ayodhyā arrived from India to Korea in 48 AD at Kimhae aboard a ship. She became the founder of the first Korean state of Karak, whose capital was named Gaya. From a tribal order Korea emerged a state. This powerful kingdom with a highly developed culture continued till its defeat by Silla in 532 AD. The rocks used as ballast to balance the boat still exist near the Haeunsa '*Temple of Sea Grace*' built by the King and it is a national treasure today. This monument needs to be studied in its multiple facets and the huge stones have to be identified.

The last Indian ācārya to visit Korea was Dhyānabhadra (Chikong). He arrived in 1340s and established the Juniper Rock Monastery on the pattern of the Nalanda University. Its foundations can be seen near Seoul. An inscription at this Monastery dated 1378 records the life and work of Dhyānabhadra and informs us that the King of Kanchi was his nephew. The inscription is a veritable history of Buddhism in 14th century India, as he travelled to Buddhist centres at Kanchi, Dvāravatī the capital of Hoysala Ballalas, Gujarat, Bengal, and Jalandhar in Panjab before going to China and Korea. The Monastery deserves to be excavated by a joint Indo-Korean team. Dhyānabhadra was the 108th descendant of Kāśyapa, the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. It is a very important inscription for Buddhism in medieval India (Arthur Waley, *New light on Buddhism in medieval India, in Mēlanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1.355-376).

The Onjojī Monastery of Japan has a scroll illustrating the iconography of the *Ṛtu-saṃhāra* or *Tattva-saṅgraha*, dated 855 AD. It is a copy of the original scroll signed by Śubhākarasiṃha of Nalanda who lived from 637 to 735 AD. It is the only known signed of an ācārya of Nalanda.

The influence of the Gupta style (c. 320-475) spread with Indian and Nepalese craftsmen from the 7th century onwards. Brass and copper images from NE and NW India in Gupta style are displayed in the Li.ma Temple of the Potala Palace in Lhasa (Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, Hongkong, 1.56-57, 68f., 214, 394, 436-437). These icons need to be integrated into the history of the Buddhist art styles of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Pala dynasty, and Late Gupta radiating in

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Newar idiom. The artistic impulses from India had a lasting influence in the formation of Buddhist art of the Asian cosmopolis. The idea of convening this seminar is laudable in that it initiates a discussion of the internetting of the multiple stands of Buddhist antiquity as well as its continuous development, which will clarify lacunae of one tradition by supplementing it with another.

In 2010 the Government of Mongolia celebrated the 2200 years of the Hūṇa state in Mongolia. Mongolia has around 5000 Hūṇa tumuli and the tombs have textiles and other objects of historic interest. They should be of interest to India because of Hūṇa incursions. Emperor Kublai Khan (ruled 1260-94) invited the Prince-Artist Aniko to construct a variety of buildings in the capital. The earliest of them is the White Stūpa (Chin. Baita) of the Miaoying Monastery in Beijing dedicated in 1271AD. It is inscribed with a five feet high bījākṣara HRĪḤ which is visible from long distances and symbolizes the might of the Chinese State: HRĪḤ is Hari 'Viṣṇu', hari 'sun' (representing the Solar Dynasty), and hari 'lion' the defence of the empire. The statue of Pañjaranātha Mahākāla dated 1292 comes from the school of Aniko and Emperor Kublai Khan got its empowerment to defeat the Southern Sung and thus united north and south China, a unity that has come down to our times. The tradition of Aniko continued in Mongolia and culminated in the transcendent sculptures of the Head of Mongolian Buddhism Zanabazar (Skt. Jñānavajra), cast from 1683 AD onwards. These Mongolian sculptures are a continuation of the Indic tradition and follow ancient iconographic treatises. They represent a period when Buddhist art had vanished from India.

The kīrtti-stambha of Kumbha Rana at Chittor built in 1442 -1449 AD is eighty feet high and commemorates a victory. Its graceful exuberance towering in many stories resembles a richly carved ivory. The earliest reference to the establishment of such a 'pillar of glory' is commemorated in the Kêlurak Inscription of the Śailendra King Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya dated Śaka 704 (= 782 AD, stanza 9). It was *sarva-deva-mayaḥ* like the Chittor tower enshrining statues in its niches. The kīrtti-stambhas of the Nanzhao (653-937 AD) and ali kingdoms (937-1253 AD) in the Yunnan province of China are replete with images

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and Sanskrit inscriptions. A comparative study of the concept of kīrtti-stambha will be possible in the new concept of 'Comparative Archaeology' evolving in the present seminar.

The so-called Kesariya terraced stūpa is not a stūpa but a Sumeru for a three-dimensional architectonic maṇḍala (pura-maṇḍala). The Sumeru with stūpa on top has been described in precise configuration in a Tibetan text published from Dharmasala in 1970 *(Byaṅ.chub.lam.gyi rim.paḥi dmar.khrid myur.lam.gyi sṅon-ḥgroḥi ṅag.ḥdon.gyi rim.pa khyer bde bklag chog: bskal.bzaṅ mgrin.rgyan zhes.bya.ba).* According to this text Sumeru has five terraces, three-storeyed eaved palace of Indra called Sudarśana, topped by a stūpa. The Borobudur is the most outstanding monumental Sumeru, which I have detailed in my articles on Borobudur. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* clearly states that the maṇḍalas were in the kūṭāgāra (eaved palace) atop Sumeru (*sumerūparikūṭāgāras tasya madhye* ......p. 42 of the Sanskrit text). It is essential to treat every theme or category in a comparative study of the various Buddhist monuments and texts in different countries.

Emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahendra to preach Buddhism in Srilanka during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa, with gifts including a nandyāvarta, which has defied an acceptable interpretation. Nandyāvarta is a six-storeyed palatial (prāsāda) building in the *Mānasāra* (24.24.). Aśoka must have had an impressive palace constructed for King Devānampiya Tissa as a symbol of a new secular and sacred order of Buddhism. To interpret the shreds of information available in different countries with Buddhist heritage, it is essential to evolve a comparative approach. This international seminar, looking at the archaeology of Buddhism of twenty countries and regions, can fulfill a long-awaited desideratum.

The Archaeological Survey of India has collaborated with Cambodian archaeologists to restore the magnificent Ta Prohm. It was the Royal Monastery, or Rāja-vihāra according to the inscription, to sanctify the imperial power of Jayavarman VII. The central deity was Prajñāpāramitā sculpted in the likeness of his mother, accomplished by 260 deities in the jumble of galleries. It reflects the idea of a kīrtti-stambha with an Olympian assembly of divinities, so that śruti and smṛti converge to

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inform power with virtue, as per the mantra of Prajñāpāramitā *oṁ dhīḥ śruti-smṛti-vijaye svāhā* in the *Sādhanamālā.*

The archaeology of Buddhism is a polychrome canvas of languages, stratum cultures, fusion of times, intersection of ethnicities and institutions, a verbal cosmos in a unity of the profound and the profane. I would like to close with a great T 'ang poet Li Shang-yin:

I who was given in a dream the brush of many colours
Wish to write on petals a message to the clouds of morning.

(Ch'uan T'ang Shih '*Complete T'ang Poems*', Peking 1960 no. 6171).

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2

Safety of Silence and the Possibility of Dissent: Theatrical Responses to the Mahābhārata

K. G. Paulose

The eternal saga of the *Mahābhārata* (mbh) is described in the Ādiparvan. It proclaims – Every age has its own mbh and every mbh has its own interpreter. Our search here is for the mbh of our age.

1. Determinism and Free will

Many of you might have seen the mbh serial of B. R. Chopra on TV. Every episode in it starts with a rolling wheel and many other wheels of different size on the screen. Wheel is the symbol of kāla-time. For us kāla is chakra-cyclic. Never does kāla take a linear path. We do not, therefore, have progression or regression. Extended further, we reach the solar system wherein every planet has its position, motion and speed. There is no choice. Everything is predetermined. This is the universal ṛtam of life in which our role is pre-destined.

In spite of it, each planet while it moves in the orbit, moves also in its own axis. Here it has a choice, though limited. Ekalavya had no option to exercise his free will, yet he survived and learned to send arrows with the remaining four fingers. His successors of the tribe still do not use the thumb while shooting. This is what we call the survival instinct. Thump, in India, is a great symbol. The weavers in Bengal, in the 19th century, when the colonial masters imposed laws against their traditional job, cut off their thumps in protest.

Let us come to more recent times. Many of us were born as slaves of the British Empire. When we were children, grandmothers encouraged us to read Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas. But they did not permit us to read Mahābhārata. They feared that reading mbh will bring in quarrel in the household. As there are maxims for reading, there is also one for not reading. A king of ours put in jail his uncle suspecting his loyalty. He was the greatest of the Malayalam poets of that time. In all humility he composed thousand verses of apology (*Kṣamāpaṇasahasram*) seeking

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pardon and sent it to the king. The king read the first verse and left it out. The poet, naturally, was enraged. In his anger he wrote hundred ślokas (*Yamapraṇāmaśatakam*) praying the God of Death to take away the life of the king. The interesting part of the story is the reason given by the king for not reading it. On reading the first verse the king feared that if he continues to read he will pardon the poet, which he did not like. This is the philosophy of not reading a text. What our grandmothers feared in mbh?

The two primitive instincts inherent in man, crude and savage, are the greed for wealth and for women. Had not Śāntanu run mad after the fishergirl, the story would have been otherwise. Same with the old fisherman. His greed for the throne upset everything. The irony of it is, that his daughter proved to be inefficient to produce a king to sustain the progeny. The principal objects of human life were only two - Artha and Kāma. Bharata allows only two rasas to dominate a play - vīra and śṛṅgāra. It was after a long time in the history of humanity that a regulatory mechanism to distinguish man from animal became imperative. So, when Duṣyanta became infatuated on the hermit girl, his moral consciousness enquired whether she is fit to be married by him or not. It is here that Dharma operates. It provides a value system for an individual to follow.

'Acquire wealth, enjoy women; but be careful to be within this frame.' Thus trivarga governed the life for long. In course of time it became difficult to enforce this moral code. Of course, police and penal code are there. But a better way is to persuade, so as to ensure their will-full acceptance. Like we tell our children, 'go and study today. Tomorrow we will take you to the film. Remember, if only you get good marks'. Thus came the concept of svarga. The elders offered a temptation to enforce dharma. The chief attraction of svarga is that the apsaras will be all around us. Then all kinds of allurements, dishes, gardens, flowers and what not. It is a kind of tourist destination; once the purse is empty one has to check out. Humanity by this time had marched a long way. Other thoughts began to disturb the minds. Gautama found an escape in nirvāṇa. Svarga pleases, nirvāṇa freezes. By 9th century śānta became accepted as the chief motive of mbh. Two centuries later Abhinava accepted śānta as mahārasa.

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Those grandmas are no more. The value system in which they lived also vanished. The children today are born to an entirely different set of values which give them multiple choices. No more, any of us take Droṇa as a model teacher; not because we have grown immensely good, but because Ekalavyas before us have the freedom to choose. They will either lock us in our room or file a suit in the Court. This is the background of the Mbh School encouraging us to read the epic. The distance from the grandmas to the scholars is not of decades but of values that govern the society. To put it in the language of agency, the track for universal movement remains more or less pre-destined; but that of individuals have become more flexible. Individual's fate is not as pre-determined as it was in older generations. The system now provides a public space and a civil society for Ekalavya to move though he is conditioned by the universal ordinances.

2. Forms of Popular Dissent

In the first part, we were moving around the metaphor of wheel. Here we depend on another image that of a magnificent edifice. Mbh is a colossal structure. It has three layers. In the outer level are the courtyard and gardens where anyone moves freely. This is the sphere of popular mbh. When we move closer the watchman stops us. Admission is restricted. The structure built on one lakh twentyfive thousand bricks is amazing. This is the second layer- the text of mbh. When we move in and in we reach the inner-most chamber, the sanctum sanctorum. This is the abode of Bhagavadgītā. Śaṅkarācārya, for reasons best known to him, took out Gītā from mbh and placed it along with the Upaniṣads. Yet Gītā forms an integral part of mbh. These are the three levels of mbh - popular, textual and philosophical. Our engagement now is confined to the first two levels.

Everybody knows that the mbh war was fought by the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. But the heroes of Kurukṣetra really are the aborigines. 361 aboriginal groups drawn from different parts of India participated in the war. Anthropologists have identified 38 groups of ādivāsis who joined the Pāṇḍava camp and 59 with the Kaurava. The rest might, perhaps, have disappeared or merged with other clans. The aborigines fought with vigour, many fell dead and others returned to their native

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places. Those who returned carried with them the memories of what they saw and heard. They narrated, of course, with inflated imagination these stories to their kith and kin. Thus a parallel oral tradition grew up. Everywhere in India there is a river where Kuntī took her daily bath or a cave where Pāṇḍavas lived in. The rustic fascination of the innocent rural folk gave fanciful narratives of their heroes. They differed very much from the official releases of Sañjaya. The sympathy of the innocent rural folk were with those who suffered or were humiliated. They built temples for Draupadī. You will be surprised to know that there is a temple for Duryodhana in Kerala. There are thousands of stories popular all over India orally transmitted from generation to generation. This mass of tales is an integral part of our mbh tradition.

This tradition, in most cases expresses the voices of dissent from the textual mbh. We take some examples from theatre. They are more faithful to reality. Actors use masks to uncover the truth; we on the other hand, conceal the truth with golden covers.

We all know that Pāñcālī in exile got the akṣayapātra. The beauty-conscious rural folk of Gujarat worried that how much she suffers in the absence of a mirror. They got a mirror for her. Our mirrors reflect the image of the one who holds it. But this mirror reflects the image of the one which she loves the most. The play based on this theme is Chāyāmukhi. There is another popular play jampoophal. During their exile Draupadī came across a wonderful fruit. Out of sheer curiosity, she plucked it. Now the tree spoke. "Hold it back. This is intended for that sage who will shortly open his eyes after his fast of 12 years. You will be cursed". Frightened she put it back. But failed. The tree said. "You are unchaste; otherwise you would have been successful". She pleaded innocence. Tree insisted otherwise. At last she said. "Once, only once a thought occurred to me that I need not have to suffer these ordeals had Karṇa became successful in svayamvara". She was excused for being truthful. Everything ended happily. The poor folk in their innocence hoped that marriage to Karṇa would have saved her.

Many of you might have seen Therukkūttu. After the scene of disrobing Pāñcālī the Jester (kaṭṭikkāran) comes out and tells the audience: "What a gruesome act! We do not endorse it. We presented it

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only because Vyāsa described it so". We need not multiply the examples. Only two more. Kīcakavadha of Khādilkar was staged in Pune in 1907 by Maharashtra Nāṭakamaṇḍali. The audience soon realised that Kīcaka is intended to be Lord Curson, Draupadī is India and that Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma are the moderate and extremist parties respectively. The British Govt. was terrified and prohibited the play on charges of sedition. This seems to be the first political incarnation of mbh in theatre. I would like to add the *Andha yuga* of Dharmavīrabhārati, staged in Delhi in 1954. Aśvatthāmā was the central character of the play. Gāndhārī encourages him and inflicts a terrible curse on Kṛṣṇa.

Last month I went to Kerala to inaugurate a play on Draupadī. It is an enquiry of a college girl as to how Draupadī is relevant to her today.

Draupadī is a largely misunderstood and misinterpreted woman of the *Mahābhārata*. She is pictured as the voluptuous woman who gave in to all the five Pāṇḍava brothers and lived the life of a dignified, married, whore. But if you go to ponder, Draupadī is a woman of a deep understanding and intelligence. The fact that distinguishes her from the other women of the *Mahābhārata* is that she was very well aware of the circumstances. She was never an all suffering woman, who did not rebel against the decisions about her life which were made by other people on her behalf. Neither did she owe everything to fate like any other conventional Indian woman. She choose to keep silent and go through whatever came her way with the full knowledge that it was unjust and that she deserved better than what she got. Even when she rebelled against the odds in her own individuals ways, she was also not all that empowered to break out of the constraints and abandon the people who she believed were her family. She found solace in her evergreen lover Kṛṣṇa whom she considered as the epitome of an ideal lover. She confided in him and dreamt of him and those were the only moments of consolation Draupadī ever experienced during the entire span of her life.

This is where she becomes the representative of contemporary Indian woman who is educated aware but also tied in to the archetypes of family and morality fed into her head by the collective conscience of her roots.

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She does is an apt tool which can be used to draw relevant analogies with the lives of the modern day Indian women. The underlying feeling of agony and the longing to break free and also the inability to shake off the shackles of social conditionings that Draupadī went through is the very same feelings of being burdened that almost every normal Indian woman faces today.

In that sense, Draupadī is even today, a character that gives scope for interpretation of various kinds and dimensions.

In this part we were discussing the popular face of mbh.

3. Textual Mahābhārata

Sanskrit plays generally follow the textual mbh reproducing the sentiments expressed by Sañjaya and the sūtas. But even there, we hear isolated voices of dissent. One is of Bhāsa. He is a '*critical insider*'. Bhāsa is not far distanced from Vyāsa. Hence, at times he corrects Vyāsa and leads him to alternate paths. Bhāsa has six plays based on mbh. *Madhyamavyāyoga* is during the exile, *Pañcarātram* at the end of the exile and *Dūtavākyam* before starting the war. The last three are during the Great War - Dūtaghaṭotkaca on the 12th day after the fateful fall of Abhimanyu, *Karṇabhāra* on the 17th day, followed by *Ūrubhaṅga* on the 18th day on the death of Duryodhana. All except Pañcarātra are one act plays. *Pañcarātra* is in three acts. The feud between the brothers ends without war by the intervention of Droṇa. They share the country and live happily. Bhāsa dreams a mbh without kurukṣetra! Vyāsa says: *War is inevitable. There is no alternative.* Bhāsa corrects: *There is alternative.* Who was responsible for war? Gāndhārī says that Kṛṣṇa is responsible. Hence she curses him.

We are discussing whether it is principal agency or subordinate agency. Bhāsa says: No, the silence of the elders cost the war. We will call it negative agency. To be fair, I will borrow a better term from Dr. Howard Zinn to explain the situation - *Safety of Silence.* Willful Silence in crucial moments makes our position safe. A nation perishes when the intelligentsia keeps silent. Yes, it is what the wise men are for. It may cost their positions, perhaps even lives. John the Baptist lost his head. It was presented in a golden plate to Herod. Yet they do not keep quiet. Our elders kept a studied silence in the most ignoble context of

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offending the modesty of a woman in the royal court. *Pañcarātram* is Bhāsa's critique of intelligentsia.

The silence of Kuntī also comes under this category. We call it negative agency, but the victims of her silence cannot endorse our view. Kuntī by her silence was making her safe. There is an interesting story by Mahāśveta Devi. At the fag end of Kuntī's life, before being burned by the forest-fire, she comes across a woman who was the eldest daughter-in-law of the Niṣādini who was burned in the jatugṛha with her sons. The woman reminds Kuntī of her crime in burning six innocent tribals to death to serve her self-interest. Kuntī cannot absolve herself from the responsibilities of these acts, either of omission or of commission.

Bhāsa's *Karṇabhāra* has been variously interpreted. *What is the burden of Karṇa?* Prof. Bhattacharya, in his illuminating introduction, told us that the burden of Karṇa was his past. I beg to differ. Kṛṣṇa had offered him the kingdom and even Draupadī on the sixth year. He could have easily accepted it. Kuntī also would have been very happy. But his moral sense, loyalty, did not permit him. This leads to his tragic end. Bhāsa is shocked. How adherence to dharma becomes burden?

The *Karṇabhāra* can also be read in a subaltern perspective. We did so during the Maṇḍal agitation. Two more Bhāsa plays can be read in this perspective. In *Madhyamavyāyoga* the situation is Bhāsa's own creation. Here he presents Hiḍimba and Ghaṭotkaca in bright colours. The situation in *Dūtaghaṭotkaca* is also not in the mbh. After the death of the son of Arjuna, Bhāsa sends deliberately the son of Bhīma to the Kaurava court. Those live in the city have only contempt for him; but his behaviour is highly dignified. When Ghaṭotkaca fell bravely fighting for Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa is overjoyed. One reason was that Karṇa lost his last defence. The more he danced to celebrate the death. He did not think even of Bhīma who mourns the loss of his son.

This is the official policy-release of Sañjaya. Bhāsa's dissent was against this. He admired Duryodhana, sympathised with Karṇa and sided with the subalterns. He was, perhaps, inviting us to the other side of mbh.

Conclusion

The mbh tradition comprises both the oral and textual. It is an organic part, inseparable to Indian life. The growing interest of the West in mbh

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is a welcome trend. But the Western scholarship is blissfully ignorant of the oral traditions of mbh. Hence we have to be on guard that the new awareness does not distance the masses from mbh.

Vedas were central to our culture. The expansion of it has three streams. The intellectual plane is left to the Upaniṣads. It is the realm of Yājñavalkyas, Maitreyīs and Gārgīs. The ritualistic part is inherited by the priesthood. Itihāsas and Purāṇas lead the message to the masses. Mbh is the one text closest to the Vedic world. The massive body of epic-puranic literature of over 8 lakh verses is of the masses.

To contemporise this tradition we should, daringly, be selective. When Govt. of India institutes a prestigious award in the name of Droṇācārya, we have to think how far it is advisable to idealise Ācārya's action in the present context. At the same time, there are situations most suited to the present milieu. After the advice, Lord tells Arjuna to think on it and do however he likes. This is the highest value in a democratic society. The need of the hour is an intelligent *haṃsa* who can distinguish milk from water.

Peter Brook's *Mahābhārata* with an international cast from 19 countries is described as the greatest theatrical event of the last century. The Indian reaction to the film is not generally encouraging. I have my own reservations on many points. Yet, I welcome their efforts on two grounds-the epic is viewed as the *history of mankind* and the attempt is to *universalise* mbh. Vyāsa tells the boy to whom he narrates the story:

'Yes, it is the story of your race, how your ancestors were born, how they grew up, how a vast war arose. It is the poetical history of mankind. If you listen carefully, at the end you will be somone else... It washes away faults, it sharpens the brain and it gives long life.'

[Lecture delivered in the *Mahābhārata* school (September 17 to 30th, 2012) organized by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.]

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3

वङ्गप्रान्ते मेघदूतानुवादः

तन्मयकुमारभट्टाचार्यः

कमनीयकाव्यकाननकेसरी कविताविनिताविलासः कालिदासः सहृदयानां हृदयव्यूहमान्दोलयन् भूयसा देदीप्यमानः साहत्याकाशे राराजते। प्राच्यकाव्यलोकस्य स महानायकः, भारतहृदयपरिचायकः, मानवतायाः सङ्गायकः भारतीयसंस्कृतेः प्रतिनिधिभूतश्च विराजते। तदीयं काव्यजातं जीवनस्य जयगीतं गायति। तस्य काव्येषु चरित्रचित्रणवैचित्र्यं, तेषामुदात्तता, बाह्यान्तःप्रकृत्योः समरूपता, भाषाशैलीरसालङ्काराणामनुपमेयता, वर्ण्यविषयाणां विविधता इत्येते विविधाः गुणाः विद्यन्ते। सर्वोपरि तत्कृतिषु विद्यन्ते उदात्तं जीवनदर्शनं, नैतिकमूल्यं, सौन्दर्यतत्त्वानामपूर्वोपस्थापनञ्च। मानवीयभावनास्तत्काव्येषु रुचिरं चित्रिताः दृश्यन्ते। जीवलोकान्तरङ्गस्पन्दनस्वनः सामाजिकसहृदयैः संततमाकर्ण्यते तदीयकाव्यजाते। तत्प्रणीतकाव्येषु आदिमं खण्डकाव्यं मेघदूतमेव कालिदासं कविकुलगुरुपदवीमारोपयतीत्यत्र नास्त्यतिशयोक्तिः।

यथा ऋतुषु मन्दं माकन्दमाधुरीधुरीणः वसन्तः प्रविशति तथैव कविपुङ्गवस्यापि चेतसि विरहविजृम्भामयी कापि सुकुमारमेघदूतरूपा कल्पनाकलिका उन्मीलिता स्यात्। सुविदितमेव विदां यद् - ऋग्वेदे पणीन् प्रति सरमा सन्देशवाहिनी प्रेषिता, वाल्मीकिरामायणे सीतां प्रति हनुमान्, महाभारते दमयन्तीं प्रति राजहंसः, श्रीमद्भागवते च कृष्णपार्श्वे रुक्मिणीप्रणयदूतो द्विजराट् प्रहितः, तेषामेव सरणिः कविशिरोमणिना मेघदूतेऽनुसृता स्यात्। परन्तु विद्वांसो बहुविधैः पूर्वप्रभावैः प्रयोगसादृश्यैश्च हनुमद्वृत्तान्तमेव मेघदूतोपजीव्यमिति कथयन्ति। मेघदूतमिदमवलम्ब्य अनन्तरकाले प्रायः शताधिकानि दूतकाव्यानि रचितानि, इदानीमपि रच्यन्ते कविभिस्तादृशानि दूतकाव्यानि कालिदासस्य रीतिमनुसृत्यैव। एतत्सर्वं मेघदूतस्य अपारजनप्रियताद्योतकमित्यत्र नास्ति संशयः। कृतार्थाः संस्कृतकाव्यरसज्ञाः ये - माघे मेघे गतं वयः - इति कथयन्तः मस्तिष्कबुभुक्षायै माघकाव्यं हृत्पिपासायै च मेघदूतमनुशीलयन्ति। मेघदूतं पृथिव्याः सर्वदेशानां कालातीतानां श्रेष्ठकाव्यानामन्यतममेव। अध्यात्मचेतनाक्षेत्रे यथा श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, तथैव काव्यसाधनापरिसरे मेघदूतं भारतं विश्वसंसदि अनन्यमहिम्ना सुप्रतिष्ठितमकरोत्। कालेन समं कालान्तरस्य, देशेन सह देशान्तरस्य च सेतुबन्धने यदि साहित्यं सार्थकमाध्यमं गण्येत, तर्हि तया दृष्ट्या मेघदूतमेकमसामान्यं साहित्यकर्म। ईदृशं जनसमादृतं काव्यं संसारे विरलम्। विश्वे काव्यरसपिपासुकानां कृते मेघदूतं स्वर्गीयसुधातुल्यं वर्तते।

ऊनविंशशतकं नवजागरणस्य कालखण्डरूपेण स्वीक्रियते। युगेऽस्मिन् शिक्षितवङ्गीयजातिः परिशीलितपाश्चात्त्यसाहित्यसंस्कृतिसंस्पर्शेन प्रभाविता यथा यूरोपीयभावधारामङ्गीकृतवती, तथैव जातीयताबोधेनोज्जीविता सती स्वदेशीयप्राचीनसाहित्यसंस्कृतिः गरिमाविष्करणेऽपि

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कृतसङ्कला आसीत्। तस्यां शृङ्खलायामारब्धमभूत् प्राचीनभारतीयसंस्कृतसाहित्यानुवादकर्म। अस्यामनुवादचर्चायां स्वाभाविकरूपेण प्राधान्यमभजत, प्राचीनभारतीयसाहित्यलोके सर्वश्रेष्ठस्य कविकुलगुरोः कालिदासस्य रचना, तत्रापि विशेषेण तदीयाऽमरा सृष्टिः खण्डकाव्यख्यातादिमं मेघदूतमिति कृतिरेव। कालिदासकाव्यानामनुवादकेषु नैके मेघदूतानुवादायैव प्रसारितहस्ता आसन्। तत्र कारणद्वयमस्ति। प्रथमं मेघदूतस्य क्षुद्रायतनं काव्यगौरवेण असामान्यत्वञ्चेति। द्वितीयं, विशिष्टं मन्दाक्रान्ताच्छन्दः संस्कृतपरिसराद् बहिः रूपयितुं दुर्मदप्रलुब्धता। अनेन प्रतीयते यत् - ख्यातैरख्यातैः पण्डितैरपण्डितैः कविभिरकविभिश्च सर्वैरपि मेघदूतानुवादकर्मणि विपुलतरोत्साहः प्रदर्शितः। वङ्गीयेषु सर्वप्रथमेन पण्डितेन ईश्वरचन्द्रविद्यासागरेण कालिदासस्यास्यामरसृष्टिविषये तदीयं सुविख्यातं मतमित्थमभिव्यक्तम्- 'संस्कृतभाषायां यावन्ति खण्डकाव्यानि सन्ति, तेषु सार्विकदृष्ट्या मेघदूतं सर्वोत्कृष्टं वर्तते' .. .. 'यदि कालिदासः मेघदूतं व्यतिरिच्य किमप्यन्यत् काव्यं नारचयिष्यत्, तथापि सोऽद्वितीयकविरूपेण विवेचितोऽभविष्यदिति।'

ऊनविंशशताब्द्यां प्राच्य-प्रतीच्यसाहित्यसलिलेऽवगाह्य योऽभिस्नातोऽभूत् स मृत्युञ्जयी कविः मधुसूदनः 'मेघदूत'- कवितया कालिदासीय-मेघदूतमित्थमवन्दत-

कामी यक्ष दग्ध, मेघ विरह-दहने
दूत-पदे वरि पूर्वे, तोमाय साधिल
वहिते वारता तार अलका भवने
येखाने विरहे प्रिया क्षुण्ण मने छिल।

अन्यच्च कालिदासप्रतिभायाः समानधर्मा कवीन्द्रः रवीन्द्रनाथः तदीयया 'मेघदूत'कवितया कालिदासकाव्यस्य मर्मलोकं प्रविश्य एकमनितरसामान्यं रसभाष्यमरचयत्-

कविवर, कवे कोन विस्मृत वरषे
कोन पुण्य आषाढेर प्रथम दिवसे
लिखेछिले मेघदूत! मेघमन्द्र श्लोक
विश्वेर विरही यत सकलेर शोक
राखियाछे आपन आँधार स्तरे स्तरे
सघन सङ्गीत माझे पुञ्जीभूत करे।।

निखिलविरहिचित्तं प्रति कातरकवेरियं समवेदना तदीयेनामरकाव्येन चिरन्तनी स्थास्यति।

विश्वभाषाभिः मेघदूतस्यानुवादाः

इदं मेघदूतकाव्यं न केवलं भारते लोकप्रियमस्ति, अपि तु सम्पूर्णे विश्वे साहित्यरसिकानां मध्येऽपि समानं जनप्रियमस्ति। तत्रत्याः साहित्यमाधुरीमधुव्रताः काव्यरसिकाः अनूद्य मेघदूतमास्वादयन्ति। विश्वस्य प्रायः सर्वाभिः प्रमुखभाषाभिः काव्यस्यास्य अनुवादः सम्पन्नोऽस्ति।

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१८१३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे एच्. एच्. विलसन्-महोदयेन आङ्गलभाषया मेघदूतस्य पद्यानुवादो विहितः। ग्रन्थोऽयं '*The Meghadūta or Cloud messenger*' इति नाम्ना कलिकातातः एव प्रकाशितोऽभूत्। मेघदूतस्यायं प्रथमो भाषान्तरानुवादः। दयानन्दभार्गववर्यस्य सम्पादनेन, A. L. Sancheti महोदयस्य निर्देशनेन च German, Italian, French, Swidesh, Hungarian, Danish, Spanish, Dutch, Croatian, Czech, Portuguese, English द्वादशैः प्रतीच्यभाषाभिः अनूदितं मेघदूतं प्रकाशितमस्ति। Russian, Tibetian, Singhalese इत्येताभिः भाषाभिरपि मेघदूतमनूदितमस्ति। (see the New Catalogus Catalagorum vol. xxi, University of Madras)

भारतीयभाषाभिः मेघदूतस्यानुवादाः

प्रायः सर्वाभिः प्रमुखभारतीयभाषाभिरिदं मेघदूतकाव्यमनूदितमस्ति। भारतीयभाषासु पुनः वङ्गभाषया एव सर्वाधिकोऽनुवादो जातः। न केवलं तावद् भारतीयभाषासु अपि सर्वप्रथमं (१८५०) वङ्गभाषयैव मेघदूतानुवादोऽभवत्। यूरोपीयभाषास्वपि आङ्गलभाषया (१८१३) प्रथमोऽनुवादो एच्. एच्. विलसन्वर्येण वङ्गप्रदेश एव कृतः। तन्नाम संसारे आदावेव मेघदूतस्यानुवादकर्म वङ्गप्रान्त एव प्रारब्धमिति। वङ्गभाषां विहाय भारतीयभाषासु हिन्दीभाषया एवादौ मेघदूतानुवादो १८८४ क्रैस्ताब्दे जगमोहनसिंहेन कृतः, स च अनुवादग्रन्थो विलासपुरात् प्रकाशितः। तदनन्तरं कुमॉयुनीभाषया १८९३ ईसवींये वर्षे लीलाधरजोशिना शार्दूलविक्रीडितच्छन्दसा मेघदूतानुवादः कृतः। ततः कन्नडभाषया १८९९ ख्रीष्टाब्दे गोपालाचार्यवर्येण मेघदूतानुवादो विहितः। तत्पश्चात् दशरथविद्यारत्नेन मेघदूतानुवादो विहितः उत्कलभाषया १९०५ ख्रीष्टाब्दे। ततो गुजराटीभाषया किलाभाईघनश्यामभट्टेन १९१३ क्रैस्ताब्दे मेघदूतानुवादः कृतः। तदनु १९१९ कुमुदेश्वरवरठाकुरेण अह(स)मभाषया मेघदूतानुवादो विहितः। ततो मलयाळभाषया १९२० क्रैस्तवर्षे पी. पी. एन्. कोच्चुंकृष्णेन मेघदूतानुवादः संसाधितः। तत्परं पञ्जाबीभाषया मेघदूतानुवादः साधितः ओङ्कारनाथभारद्वाजेन १९२६ क्रैस्ताब्दे। तेलुगुभाषया मेघदूतानुवादोऽभवत् वेदामुवेङ्कटरायशास्त्रिणा १९२७ क्रैस्ताब्दे। तदनन्तरं मैथिलीभाषया (१९३७) परमानन्ददत्तेन मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्। १९३८ ख्रीष्टाब्दे एस्. ए. सोबनीस्-वर्येण मराठीभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। एतदतिरिच्य १९५० ख्रीष्टाब्दे उर्दूभाषया प्रभुदयालेन मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्। नारायणसिंहभट्टिना १९५३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे राजस्थानीभाषया मेघदूतमनूदितम्। १९६७ ख्रीष्टाब्दे श्यामलालशर्मणा डोगरीभाषया मेघदूतमनुद्य प्रकाशितम्। ततः परमपि अन्याभिः भारतीयभाषाभिः मेघदूतानुवादो जातः, इदानीमपि जायमानोऽस्त्येव। प्राप्ततथ्यानुसारं प्रान्तभेदेन भारतीयभाषासु अयमेव मेघदूतानुवादकालक्रमः प्रदर्शितः।

वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादाः

१.०. इदानीं प्रस्तुते प्रबन्धे वङ्गप्रान्तेऽनूदितमेघदूतग्रन्थानामनुवादकानां प्रकाशनवर्षाणाञ्च यावच्छक्यं विवरणं प्रस्तूयते। प्रबन्धशीर्षके मया स च बिन्दुः विषयीकृतोऽस्ति।

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प्रबन्धेनानेनास्माभिः सप्रमाणं प्रतिपादितमिदं यत् संसारे विद्यमानासु भाषासु वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्य यावाननुवादो जातस्तावान् नान्यया कयाऽपि भाषयेति निश्चप्रचम्।

१.१. मेघदूतस्य प्रथमो वङ्गानुवादः १८५० ख्रीष्टाब्दे आनन्दचन्द्रशिरोमणिना कृतः। लालमोहनगुहः ईश्वरचन्द्रघोषः इत्येताभ्यां स्वनाम्ना अनुवादमिमं प्रकाशयितुं कुप्रयासः कृतः। ताभ्यामनुवादोऽयं स्वनाम्ना प्रकाशितश्च। शिरोमणिः ज्ञात्वा उदन्तमिमं प्रतिवादमकरोत्। ततः पुनः आनन्दशिरोमणिनाम्ना स ग्रन्थः प्रचारितः। सम्पूर्णे विश्वे ग्रन्थस्यास्य एकैव प्रतिकृतिः लण्डननगरस्थे ‘द ब्रिटिश लाइब्रेरी’ इत्याख्ये ग्रन्थागारे संरक्षिताऽस्ति।

१.२. १८५९ ख्रीष्टाब्दे द्विजेन्द्रनाथठक्कुरेण प्रथमतया मेघदूतस्य वङ्गभाषया पद्यानुवादः कृतः। परन्तु ग्रन्थे अनुवादकरूपेण तस्य नाम नासीत्। पुस्तकस्य विज्ञापने इदमुल्लिखितमासीत् यत्- ‘कस्यचिद्विद्यानुरागिणः’ इति। दीनेन्द्रनाथठक्कुरसम्पादिते द्विजेन्द्रनाथठक्कुरप्रणीते काव्यमालाग्रन्थे तन्नाम्ना पुनः प्रकाशितमभूत् तदीयमनूदितं मेघदूतम्। अयं रवीन्द्रनाथठक्कुरस्य अग्रज आसीत्।

१.३. १८६१ ईसवीयाब्दे भुवनचन्द्रवसाकवर्येण नानाविधपद्यच्छन्दोभिः वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। तेन ग्रन्थस्य विज्ञापने अनुवादकत्वेन स्वनामसर्वकारीयविधिना पञ्जीकृतमित्यपि लिखितम्। अर्थाभिलाषी यदि कश्चिदिदमनुवादकर्म मुद्राप्य प्रकाशयेत् तर्हि राजद्वारे स दण्डार्हः स्यादित्यपि तेनोद्घोषितम्।

१.४. प्राणनाथपण्डितेन १८७२ ख्रीष्टाब्दे वङ्गीयया गिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। स काश्मीरदेशीयः पण्डितब्राह्मण आसीत्। १८७१ ख्रीष्टाब्दे तेन मल्लिनाथटीकोपेतं मेघदूतं सम्पाद्य प्रकाशितम्। १८७२ ख्रीष्टाब्दे तत्र वङ्गानुवादो योजितः।

१.५. १८७२ ईसवीयाब्द एव नीलमणिनन्दिना अमित्राक्षरच्छन्दसा वङ्गभारत्या मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। तदीयग्रन्थे प्रकाशकालोऽनुल्लिखित आसीत्, परन्तु ग्रन्थशेषे सन् १२७८ वङ्गाब्दोल्लेखो वर्तते, किञ्च फाल्गुनमासस्य द्वितीयदिनाङ्के इत्येतदपि उल्लिखितमस्ति, अनेन ख्रीष्टाब्दज्ञानं सुखेन शक्यम्।

१.६. १८७६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे भोलानाथमुखोपाध्यायस्य पद्येन वङ्गानुवादकर्म काव्यसिन्धुतत्त्वसारः नामग्रन्थान्तर्भुक्तं सत् प्रकाशितमभूत्। अयमूनविंशशतकस्य प्रसिद्धो ग्रन्थरचयिता। अनेन कलिकातानिवासिना अनेके ग्रन्था अनूदिताः विरचिताश्च।

१.७. १८८१ ख्रीष्टाब्दे उग्रकण्ठचक्रवर्त्तिना गद्येन वङ्गभारत्या मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्।

१.८. १८८२ ख्रीष्टाब्दे राजकृष्णमुखोपाध्यायवर्येण वङ्गभारत्या पद्येन मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। स बहुभाषाविद् आसीत्। तेन नैके ग्रन्थाः शोधप्रबन्धाश्च लिखिताः। आदौ अधिवक्तृत्वेन कियत्कालं कार्यं कृत्वा अनन्तरमध्यापनकर्मणि वृतोऽभवत्।

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१.९. १८८४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे किशोरीमोहनसेनेन वङ्गभारत्या पद्येन मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। अनुवादकसम्बन्धमधिकं किमपि ज्ञातव्यं नास्ति।

१.१०. १८८५ ख्रीष्टाब्दे जगदीश्वरगुप्तेन पद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। स वङ्गभाषया वङ्गलिप्या च मुद्रितमासीदिति वक्तव्यमेव नास्ति।

१.११. १८८५ ख्रीष्टाब्दे उत्तरमेघस्याङ्ग्लानुवादः डी. वसु-अम्बाप्रसाद-इत्येताभ्यां विहितः। अयं ग्रन्थो वङ्गदेशात् प्रकाशितः।

१.१२. १८८७ ईसवीयाब्दे मईमासे रङ्गलालवन्दोपाध्यायः दिवङ्गतः। तस्य देहान्तरात्परमेव वङ्गभाषया पद्येन तदनुदितं मेघदूतं प्रकाशितमभूत्। वन्दोपाध्यायवर्यस्य संस्कृतं, वङ्गभाषा, उत्कलभाषा, आङ्ग्लभाषा-इत्येतासु भाषासु सुमहान् प्रवेश आसीत्। स आदौ आयकरविभागे उपमण्डलाध्यक्षः आसीद्, अनन्तरं डेप्यूटिमैजिष्ट्रेटपदेऽपि वृत्तः सन् कीर्त्तिं समपादयत्। स महान् कविरासीत्। तस्य रचनासङ्ग्रहोऽपि प्रकाशितः।

१.१३. १८९१ ख्रीष्टाब्दे हृषीकेशशास्त्रिणा वङ्गगिरा पद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् विविधपाठभेदाः दर्शिताः, मल्लिनाथव्याख्यया समलङ्कृतञ्चासीत् पुस्तकमिदम्।

१.१४. १८९१ ख्रीष्टाब्दे वङ्गभारत्या पद्येन च मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतं सत्येन्द्रनाथठक्कुरेण। अयं रवीन्द्रनाथठक्कुरस्य अनुज आसीत्।

१.१५. १८९१ ख्रीष्टाब्दे वङ्गप्रदेशीयः श्रद्धेयः संस्कृतविद्वान् जगन्मोहनतर्कालङ्कारः गद्येन संस्कृतनिष्ठ-वङ्गभारत्या व्याख्योपेतं मेघदूतमनूद्य पुस्तकाकारेण प्रकाशपथमानीतम्।

१.१६. १८९२ ईसवीयाब्दे नवकुमारवसुः कालिदासग्रन्थावल्याः अनुवादमकरोत्। तत्र मेघदूतमप्यनूदितमासीदिति पुनर्वक्तव्यं नास्ति।

१.१७. १८९३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे वरदाचरणमित्रेण पद्यमय्या वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्।

१.१८. १८९४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे उपेन्द्रनाथमुखोपाध्यायेन (वेणीमाधवन्यायतर्करत्नेन) गद्येन वङ्गभारत्या मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्।

१.१९. १८९५ ईसवीयाब्दे हरलालगुप्तेन गद्येन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। तेन कृतायां कालिदासग्रन्थावल्यामिदमनुवादकर्म सन्निविष्टं वर्तते।

१.२०. १८९५ ख्रीष्टाब्दे अन्नदाप्रसादवसुना पद्येन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.२१. १८९५ क्रैस्तवर्षे कालिपदतर्करत्नेन सम्पादितस्य मेघदूतस्य गद्येन वङ्गानुवादः जात इति ज्ञायते। जातीयग्रन्थागारे संरक्षितस्य संस्करणस्यास्य प्रच्छदपुटं नोपलभ्यते। मूलसङ्ग्रहसूचीतः सम्पादकनाम सङ्गृहीतमस्ति। संस्करणेऽस्मिन् प्रथमश्लोकत्रयस्यानुवादो न प्राप्यते। कालिदासग्रन्थावल्यामनुवादकर्मेदं लब्धमस्ति।

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१.२२. १८९७ ख्रीष्टाब्दे रघुनाथशुक्लवर्येण पद्येन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्।

१.२३. १८९९ ईसवीयाब्दे वङ्गभूमिकार्यालयेन वङ्गभारत्या मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् अनुवादकस्य नाम नास्ति।

१.२४. १८९९ ख्रीष्टाब्दे कैलाशचन्द्रविश्वासेन पद्येन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.२५. १९०० ख्रीष्टाब्दे नवीनचन्द्रविद्यारत्नेन गद्येन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.२६. १९०१ ईसवीयाब्दे विधुभूषणगोस्वामिना वङ्गगिरा मल्लिनाथटीकोपेतं मेघदूतमनूदितमासीद् गद्येन।

१.२७. १९०३ ईसवीयाब्दे किशोरीमोहनसेनगुप्तेन वङ्गगिरा पद्येन मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्। तस्य ग्रन्थस्य शीर्षकमासीद् "वङ्गे मेघदूतम्" इति।

१.२८. १९०६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे सतीशचन्द्ररायेण वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.२९. १९०६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे पद्येन एस्. सि. सरकारेण वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.३०. १९०६ ईसवीयाब्दे जि. सर्वकारेण पद्येन आङ्ग्लभाषया मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्।

१.३१. १९०७ क्रैस्ताब्दे सतीशचन्द्रसेनेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनूदितम्। ग्रन्थस्यास्य आख्यापत्रे प्रकाशकालोल्लेखो नास्ति, परन्तु उपसंहारांशे "श्रावणस्य नवमे दिने १३१४ वङ्गाब्दस्य" इत्युल्लेखात् क्रैस्तवर्षमूहितमस्ति। डा. सतपालनारङ्गेन डा. नरेशजानावर्येण चोभाभ्यां प्रकाशनवर्षम् १९१३ इत्युल्लिखितं, किन्तु तपतीमुखोपाध्यायवर्यया स्वीये ग्रन्थे १९०७ इति निरुक्तः कालः सप्रमाणं प्रदर्शितः।

१.३२. १९०८ ख्रीष्टाब्दे ईसवीयाब्दे अखिलचन्द्रपालितेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.३३. १९०९ ईसवीयवर्षे त्रैलोक्यमोहनगुहनियोगी आङ्ग्ल्या मेघदूतमनूदितमासीत्।

१.३४. १९१० ख्रीष्टाब्दे निताईचान्दशीलवर्येण वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.३५. १९१५ ख्रीष्टाब्दे सत्यचरणशास्त्रिणा गद्यानुवादसहितं वङ्गभारत्या मेघदूतं प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। कालिदासग्रन्थावल्यां तेन तत् सम्पादितम्।

१.३६. १९१५ क्रैस्तवर्षे हरिपदभट्टाचार्येण मेघदूतस्य वङ्गभाषया पद्यानुवादो विहितः। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रच्छदपृष्ठायां प्रकाशनकालोऽनुल्लिखितः, किन्तु निवेदनदिनाङ्कः "मार्गशीर्षस्य १४ दिनाङ्कः १३२२ वङ्गाब्दे" इत्युल्लेखो वर्तते, पुनः उत्सर्गपत्रे ३० नवम्बर १९२५ इत्युट्टङ्कितमस्ति। कालद्वयं सामञ्जस्यपूर्णं नास्ति, ततः वङ्गाब्द एव स्वीकृतोऽत्र।

१.३७. १९१५ क्रैस्तवर्षे शरच्चन्द्रचक्रवर्ती वङ्गगिरा कालिदासग्रन्थावल्याः गद्यानुवादं कृतवान्। तत्र मेघदूतमप्यनूदितमासीदिति पुनर्वक्तव्यं नास्ति।

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१.३८. १९१६ क्रैस्तवर्षे गुरुनाथविद्यानिधिना वङ्गभाषया गद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्। अनेन पण्डितप्रकाण्डेन नैके ग्रन्था अनूदिता आसन्।

१.३९. १९१७ ख्रीष्टाब्दे पाँचकडिघोषेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.४०. १९१९ क्रैस्तवर्षे द्वारकानाथमुखोपाध्यायेन च्छन्दसा वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.४१. १९२० क्रैस्तवर्षे महामहोपाध्यायेन हरिदाससिद्धान्तवागीशेन वङ्गगिरा हिन्दीभाषया च गद्येन मेघदूतमनूदितम्। तत्र मल्लिनाथस्य टीका, तदीया चञ्चला व्याख्या च वर्तेते। अनेन वाग्देवीवरपुत्रेण समेषां काव्यग्रन्थानां टीकाष्टीकिताः। नैके शास्त्रग्रन्थाः सम्पादिताः व्याख्याता अनूदिताश्चेति।

१.४२. १९२५ ईसवीयाब्दे नगेन्द्रनाथमुखोपाध्यायेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.४३. १९२७ क्रैस्तवर्षे राजेन्द्रनाथविद्याभूषणेन कालिदासग्रन्थावली अनूदिता। तत्र गद्येन मेघदूतमप्यनूदितमासीदिति पुनर्वक्तव्यं नास्ति।

१.४४. १९२८ ख्रीष्टाब्दे शारदारञ्जनरायेण गद्येन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। अनेन आङ्गलभाषयापि कुमुदरञ्जनरायेण समं मेघदूतमनूदितम्।

१.४५. १९२९ ख्रीष्टाब्दे नरेन्द्रदेवेन वङ्गभारत्या छन्दसा मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्।

१.४६. १९२९ क्रैस्तवर्षे क्षितिनाथघोषेण छन्दसा वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनकालविषये संशयो वर्तते। एस्. पी. नारङ्गमहोदयः डा. नरेशहाजरावर्यः इत्युभयोः मतेन १९३४ ख्रीष्टाब्दोऽस्य प्रकाशनकालः। परन्तु मया दृष्टे ग्रन्थे १९२९ ख्रीष्टाब्दः टङ्कितो वर्तते। सत्यनारायणचक्रवर्त्तिनाऽपि स्वीयग्रन्थे १९२९ इति लिखितम्।

१.४७. १९३० ख्रीष्टाब्दे श्यामाचरणकविरत्नेन वङ्गभारत्या छन्दसा मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतं भुवनमोहनसाङ्ख्यतीर्थस्य भूमिकासम्बलितम्।

१.४८. १९३१ क्रैस्तवर्षे प्यारीमोहनसेनगुप्तेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन प्रबोधचन्द्रसेनस्य भूमिकोपेतं मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशितम्।

१.४९. १९३२ ख्रीष्टाब्दे वङ्गभाषया पद्येन कान्तिचन्द्रघोषेणानूदितो मेघदूतस्यांशविशेषो 'विचित्रा' पत्रिकायां १३३९ श्रावणे षष्ठवर्षीयप्रथमखण्डे १०८-१०९ पुटयोः स्वतन्त्रतया प्रकाशितोऽभूत्।

१.५०. १९३२-३३ ईशवीयवर्षयोः रवीन्द्रनाथठक्कुरेण मेघदूतस्य बहुत्र भावानुवादो विहितः। परन्तु तेन प्रथमश्लोकस्य विविधैः छन्दोभिः वारत्रयमाक्षरिकानुवादः कृत आसीत्।

१.५१. १९३३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे यामिनीकान्तसाहित्याचार्येण मूलेन समं सुरेन्द्रनाथदासगुप्तवर्यस्य विस्तृतोपोद्घातखचितं वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

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१.५२. १९३४ ईशवीयवर्षे गुरुनाथभट्टाचार्यः कालिपदतर्काचार्यः इत्येताभ्यां सम्पादितं वङ्गभारत्या हिन्द्या एच्. एच्. विलसन्वर्यस्य आङ्ग्लानुवादेन च शोभितं मेघदूतं प्रकाशपथमानीतम्।

१.५३. १९३४ क्रैस्तवर्षे हरप्रसादशास्त्रिमहाभागस्य समृद्धभूमिकाभिभूषितं क्षितिनाथघोषवर्येण वङ्गीयपद्यभाषामयं मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। (मतान्तरेण १९२९, १.४५ बिन्दुः द्रष्टव्यः, तत्रास्माभिः संशयो निराकृतः)।

१.५४. १९३६ क्रैस्तवर्षे कृष्णदयालवसुना वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्। (मतान्तरेण १९३८)।

१.५५. १९३८ क्रैस्तवर्षे हीरेन्द्रनाथदत्तेन वङ्गगिरा पद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.५६. १९३८ ईशवीयवर्षे वङ्गे विदुषामग्रगण्येन महेशचन्द्रन्यायरत्नेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.५७. १९४३ ईशवीयवर्षे राजशेखरवसुना वङ्गभाषया गद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्। अनेन वङ्गभाषया गद्येन रामायणं महाभारतञ्चानूदितम्।

१.५८. १९४४ ईशवीयवर्षे असितकुमारहालदारवर्येण वङ्गीयगिरा पद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.५९. १९४६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे एम्. सी. दत्तेन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.६०. १९४६ क्रैस्तवर्षे एम्. भी. बोसइत्यनेन महाभागेन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.६१. १९४८ ईशवीयाब्दे अमलेन्दुगुप्तेन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.६२. १९५० ईशवीयवर्षे यतीन्द्रविमलचौधुरी आङ्ग्लभाषाभूमिकया सममकरोत् मेघदूतस्य वङ्गानुवादम्।

१.६३. १९५३ क्रैस्तवर्षे स्पर्शमणिना वङ्गभारत्या छन्दसा मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.६४. १९५७ क्रैस्तवर्षे धीरेन्द्रनाथभौमिकेन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.६५. १९५७ ख्रीष्टाब्दे बुद्धदेववसुना वङ्गभाषया मन्दाक्रान्ताछन्दसा मेघदूतमनुदितम्। तेन ग्रन्थारम्भे काचित् विस्तृता भूमिका लिखिता।

१.६६. १९५७ ख्रीष्टवर्षे मल्लिनाथेन वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.६७. १९६० ख्रीष्टाब्दे नित्यानन्दस्मृतितीर्थेन वङ्गगिरा गद्येन मेघदूतानुवादो विहितः।

१.६८. १९६३ क्रैस्तवर्षे कालिदासरायः मूलेन सह मेघदूतस्य वङ्गानुवादमकरोत्।

१.६९. १९६४ ख्रीष्टवर्षे हिरण्मयवन्दोपाध्यायेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

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१.७०. १९६५ क्रैस्तवर्षे शारदारञ्जनराय-कुमुदरञ्जनरायाभ्याम् आङ्ग्लभाषया वङ्गभाषया च मेघदूतमनूद्य प्रकाशपथमानीतम्। १.४३ बिन्दौ शारदारञ्जनरायस्य आङ्ग्लानुवादविषयः पूर्वमेवोल्लिखितः।

१.७१. १९६६ ख्रीष्टवर्षे सुधीरगुप्तेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.७२. १९६७ ख्रीष्टाब्दे पार्वतीचरणभट्टाचार्येण सुविस्तृतालोचनया सह वङ्गगिरा गद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः। ग्रन्थोयं वङ्गदेशे महतीं प्रसिद्धिं गतः।

१.७३. १९६८ वर्षे अमूल्यचन्द्रसेनेन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.७४. १९६९ क्रैस्तवर्षे योगीन्द्रनाथमजुमदारवर्येण छन्दसा वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादः कृतः।

१.७५. १९७० ईशवीयाब्दे सावित्रीदत्तवर्यया वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनूदितम्।

१.७६. १९७४ ईशवीयाब्दे ध्यानेशनारायणचक्रवर्त्तिना गद्यमय्या वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतमनूदितम्।

१.७७.१९७५ ईशवीये वर्षे सुकुमारसेनेन पद्यमय्या वङ्गवाण्या मेघदूतमनूदितम्। अयं भारतस्य संसारस्य चान्यतमो भाषाविज्ञानी आसीत्।

१.७८. १९७७ ईशवीयाब्दे अमरचाँदवन्दोपाध्यायेन वङ्गवाण्यां मेघदूतस्य पद्यानुवादः कृतः।

१.७९. १९७८ क्रैस्तवर्षे मुरारिमोहनसेनेन संस्कृतसाहित्यसम्भारे वङ्गगिरा गद्येन मेघदूतस्यानुवादो विहितः।

१.८०. १९७९ क्रैस्तवर्षे शक्तिचट्टोपाध्यायेन पद्येन वङ्गगिरा मेघदूतस्यानुवादो साधितः। अयं वङ्गप्रदेशस्य प्रख्यातः कविः।

१.८१. १९८४ ईशवीयाब्दे प्रणवबाहुबलीन्द्रेण वङ्गभाषया गद्येन मेघदूतमनूदितम्।

१.८२. १९८८ क्रैस्तवर्षे वीरेन्द्रकुमारसेनगुप्तेन वङ्गभाषया पद्येन मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.८३. १९९९-२००० क्रैस्तवर्षे (१४०७ वङ्गाब्दे) सत्यनारायणचक्रवर्त्तिना मेघदूतस्य स्वीयानुपमव्याख्यया सुविस्तृततथ्यसमृद्धभूमिकया सह वङ्गानुवादः कृतः। ग्रन्थोयमद्यत्वे छात्राध्यापकयोर्मध्ये सुतरां जनप्रियोस्ति।

१.८४. २००२ ख्रीष्टाब्दे पूर्णचक्रवर्तिना वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.८५. २००३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे दुलाल-आचार्येण वङ्गभाषया मेघदूतमनुदितम्।

१.८६. २००७ क्रैस्तवर्षेऽत्युत्तमया छन्दोमयीवङ्गगिरा काशीनाथवन्दोपाध्यायवर्यः मेघदूतमन्ववदत्। अयमसामान्यमनुवादकर्मेति प्रबन्धुर्मतम्।

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उपसंहारः

एतावत्पर्यन्तमस्माभिः यद्विवरणं प्रदत्तं तेन वङ्गप्रदेशे मेघदूतस्य जनप्रियतायाः आकलनं साहित्यरसिकैः निश्चयेन कृतं स्यात्। एतदतिरिच्यापि मेघदूतमुररीकृत्य तद्रसरसिकैः कविवरेण्यैः वङ्गभाषया बहवो ग्रन्थाः प्रबन्धाश्च लिखिताः लिख्यन्ते लेखिष्यन्ते च। प्राक्कथने तेषामग्रेसराणां विद्यासागरः, मधुसूदनः, रवीन्द्रनाथः इत्येतेषां हृद्गतोद्गारः सन्निवेशित उदाहरणमुखेन।

प्रबन्धेऽस्मिन् प्रत्येकमनुवादकस्य अनुवादजातस्य प्रतीच्य-पौरस्त्य-साहित्य-तत्त्वमीमांसकानां दृष्ट्या परस्परं तुलनात्मकाध्ययनमुत्कर्षापकर्षविचारणमपि करणीयमासीत्। परन्तु, प्रस्तुतप्रबन्धस्योद्देश्यं तन्नास्ति। केवलमत्र वङ्गप्रान्ते जातानां मेघदूतानुवादानां सङ्ग्रह एव विहितः। कृतेन सङ्ग्रहेणानेन, वङ्गीयमनीषायाः कर्मण्यस्मिन् निरलसं सातत्यं प्रदर्शितम्।

संस्कृतस्य शोधच्छात्राः गवेषकाश्चायतौ कृत्यानया लाभान्विताः स्युरिति मे मतिः। संस्कृतप्रबन्धेनानेन वङ्गप्रान्ताद्बहिः वङ्गे वा मेघदूतमाश्रित्य ये संशोधनकार्यं करिष्यन्ति, तेषां कृते मेघदूतस्येदं वङ्गभाषानुवादविवरणजातमुपकारकं स्यात्।

उपसंहाररूपेण एवं वक्तुं सुशक्यं यत्, यावत् प्रखरप्रतिभाबलेन भाराक्रान्तं कविमनः भावविह्वलतया शून्याकाशं द्रक्ष्यति, तावत् पदे पदे तं कविजनं कालिदासकवेः मेघसन्देशः प्रचोदयिष्यति, उल्लासयिष्यति, उल्लाघयिष्यति इति। अपि च जनस्यास्यापि इयमेव समीहा- कालिदासकविता नवं वयं ... सम्भवन्तु मम जन्म जन्मनि। इति शम्।

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4

Phonemic Symbolism in Sanskrit

Narayan R. Joshi

In the special issue of the Journal Dhīmahi published in 2012, history of phonemic symbolism in Sanskrit was presented by this author and examples of a few Sanskrit upasargas and phonemes with fixed meanings were also listed. It is proposed to give more examples in the present research paper. Human language deals with speech and hearing as well as writing the spoken words using the appropriate script. Sanskrit uses Devanāgari script which produces Sanskrit words fairly well phonetically and phonemically. History of Sanskrit in the Indian subcontinent is very old. The holy scriptures called Vedas were composed in Vaidika Sanskrit slightly different from Sanskrit of time of Pāṇini (500 BC approximately). To the best of my knowledge no literary compositions prior to Vedas were discovered in the world. Naturally there are many theories of the origin of Vaidika Sanskrit and even of the origin of human languages. Among all the linguistic problems, words and their meanings (semantics) is the problem discussed at present in all major languages of the world. The problem of Sanskrit words and their meanings has been debated by linguists of different Indian traditions at least for the past 2500 years. The debate about meanings of Sanskrit words and sentences is generally focused on śabda, pada, artha, sphoṭa and pratibhā. The fascination about the sphoṭa doctrine in Sanskrit semantics continues to this day. Different schools supported and attacked sphoṭa doctrine. Others proposed varṇavāda in which letter sounds present in a given word contribute to the total meaning of the word. The varṇavāda is called phonemic symbolism in this work. Such arrangement is denied for all languages including Sanskrit by modern day linguists. However the author believes in phonemic symbolism and would like to present few more examples in this paper.

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Introduction

According to Yudhiṣṭhira mīmāṃsaka[1] in the very ancient time Sanskrit was utilized on the larger area of the world. After many centuries, the area of use of Sanskrit was contracted only to some regions of the Indian subcontinent. Over the centuries, difference between Vaidika and Laukika words grew. Because of the religious devotion to Vedas, efforts were made to preserve them word by word and sound by sound. Pāṇini's grammar also helped in preserving the language on the background of the development of many languages over the centuries in the subcontinent. Sanskrit words are good material to study phonemic symbolism relative to English words which might have undergone spelling, pronunciation and meaning changes. It is true that some sound changes might have taken place also in Sanskrit words. There is still nothing wrong to investigate phonemic symbolism. If it works in seventy percent of the available words from Sanskrit dictionary, then it is ok. We can see the internal beauty of the Sanskrit words and enjoy them. Was there any history of phonemic symbolism efforts in ancient India? The answer is yes and it was described in the 2012 issue of the journal Dhīmahi[2]. As a matter of fact Sanskrit words and their meanings were much debated subjects for a long time. P. C. Muraleemadhavan[3] on 'Līlātilak on Semantic Consideration of Phonemes' published in Abstracts of Papers, 15th World Sanskrit Conference, says that all classical grammarians explain letters or phonemes from the phonetic point of view and not from the semantic point of view. Even Bhartṛhari, when he explains the allophonic variations in speech-behaviour, includes such variations in idiosyncrasies of the speaker, calling them vaikṛta dhvani and phonemes as prākṛta dhvani. Here we came across the word dhvani which is generally translated as sound.

Śabda, Pada and Vākya

Words have two aspects, sound and meaning or content. To begin with let us make difference between śabda (word) and pada (fully inflected form). In grammar, as observed by Kapil Kapoor,[4] śabda and pada are often used interchangeably. Some call śabda a speech unit and pada a grammatical unit. In our discussion on phonemic symbolism we will use only Sanskrit śabdas. However during general discussion we will

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use word for both śabda and pada. We will limit ourselves to meaning of Sanskrit śabdas and not of sentences. The topic of individual word has meaning separate from its use in a sentence or only sentence having meaning is discussed extensively in *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari[5]. Generally grammarians (Maṇḍana Miśra) are vākyavādins while mīmāṃsakas (Kumārilabhaṭṭa) are padavādins. It is not possible to replace the word 'agni' in place of 'sūrya' in ritual mantras unless each one of them have individual meaning. This is the logic of padavādins. According to akhaṇḍapakṣa of grammarians the sentence is the unit of meaning. According to khaṇḍapakṣa of mīmāṃsakas, a sentence is a combination of padas. It sounds to me that Bhartṛhari accepts both khaṇḍa and akhaṇḍa points of view.

Types of Śabdas

According to the description in the book of Dr. Korada[6], the term śabda got many meanings, viz. mahāvākya, avāntaravākya, vākya, pada, varṇa and many more. Therefore it is untranslatable. Here we limit the meaning of śabda to pada without inflections. Now according to the point of view of Prabhākara there are two types of śabdas-dhvanyātmaka śabda and varṇātmaka śabda. Sanskrit word dhvani means sound. When water drips from a water faucet, it makes sound dip, dip. This is dhvanyātmaka śabda. Sanskrit words we use is speaking are varṇātmaka śabda. They are strings of Sanskrit varṇas. We will use English word phoneme for Sanskrit word varṇa for easiness of writing although there is difference between the two. Sanskrit varṇas are arranged in a periodic table of articulated sounds according to their acoustic properties. There is no such periodicity observed in the list of English phonemes. Now we will move to meanings of articulated śabdas. According to Sanskrit writers there are four different significative powers of a word. They are:

Abhidhā: It denotes primary or basic meaning.

Lakṣanā: It denotes secondary or extended meaning.

Vyañjanā: It denotes suggested meaning.

Tātparya: It denotes the intended meaning.

In this work we will focus only on abhidhā meaning. The other meanings are used in the realm of poetics. Words are also divided into four classes

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according to the different ways in which their meaning is determined. Examples are listed by Usha Rathore in her book[7]. They are yaugika or derivative, rūḍha or conventional, yogārūḍha or derivative-conventional and yougikarūḍha or that which could be taken as derivative or as conventional. Our focus will remain on yaugika and yogārūḍha words. We will not try phonemic symbolism on yadṛcchāśabdas (words coined at random or words of casual utterance). We will not try anukaraṇaśabdas (imitation sounds).

Śabda, Dhvani and Sphoṭa according to Patañjali

With regard to the meanings of Sanskrit words, different theories were proposed by Sanskrit scholars and philosophers in the ancient India. The two main theories are varṇavāda and sphoṭavāda. The earlier history of sphoṭa doctrine is well known to Sanskrit scholars. However those interested in reading about it, please refer to my published papers listed in references 8 and 9. Many scholars have handled the issue of sphoṭa for many centuries according to minute differences in their philosophical and theological inclinations. The following information is taken from the book of Usha Rathore[7]. Patañjali mentions the theory of sphoṭa. But his conception of the sphoṭa is different from that developed by Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya* and by Maṇḍana Miśra in his *Sphoṭasiddhi.* The term 'sphoṭa' as used by Patañjali always stands for the structure of expression which may and may not have any meaning. The idea that the meaning bearing word is the sphoṭa is not implicitly or explicitly stated by Patañjali although such a concept has occurred to the later theorists. Patañjali knows the two-sidedness of the word. One side represents, 'sound' and the other 'content'. According to him both 'uccāraṇa' (phonetic nature) and 'sampratyaya' (semantic nature) illuminate the nature of śabda. We definitely hear 'śabda' whether we understand meaning or not. We say also 'do not make śabda' in the sense 'do not make noise'. Then what is exactly meant by Sanskrit word śabda? We will return to that question later on. Patañjali also describes the relation between two aspects of word: sphoṭa and dhvani. The sphoṭa refers to the constant element in the auditory image of the varied articulated sounds, while the term dhvani refers to the physical articulated sounds which is associated with length, tempos,

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and various peculiarities of the individual speakers. The difference in the speed of utterance does not affect the sphoṭa, but it is felt to be associated with it, due to the difference in the sounds which manifest the sphoṭa. The above information is taken from the book of Usha Rathore.[7]

Patañjali and Phonemes

Patañjali raises the question, whether the phonemes are meaning bearing units or not. On the one hand, because of the minimally distinctive words, 'kūpa, sūpa, yūpa' conveying different meanings, we are tempted to say that the single phoneme appearing in the first position of these words carries the smallest semantic significant unit in the language. On the other hand, because the segment—ūpa common to all three words do not show common semantic segment in them, it is argued that individual phonemes (varṇas) do not carry any semantic significance. The readers interested in knowing explanation of these three words based on my phonemic symbolism, please see the paper listed in the reference.[10] Patañjali does not identify sphoṭa with the meaning – bearing nature of language. Then he proposes the concept of 'saṅghāta'. So from where do meanings arise in Sanskrit śabdas.

Sphoṭa and Dhvani according to Bhartṛhari.

It is Bhartṛhari (the celebrated author of *Vākyapadīya*) who is the first grammarian to have presented a systematic treatment of the concept of sphoṭa. In his *Vākyapadīya*, he offers many different views. So whatever I can filter out as his views are now listed. In order to explain the distinction between dhvani and sphoṭa, Bhartṛhari speaks of two aspects of dhvani - prākṛta and vaikṛta. The sphoṭa is perceived as identical with the manifesting primary sounds (though quite different from them) as having their properties. The question of rapidity and prolongation is to be decided with reference to 'vaikṛta dhvani'. The sphoṭa appears to have the properties of the manifesting sounds just as the reflection appears to have properties of the medium of reflection. This is all interesting and nothing much to question. But when Bhartṛhari says sphoṭa is spiritual entity and it is eternal, then confusion arises. Further it is said that the sages to whom the eternal light of śabda-brahman has manifested itself, always understood sphoṭa without going through the

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course described for ordinary individuals. The light of śabda-brahman takes us from pure linguistic dhvani sphoṭa level to spiritual level. Sphoṭa is of two kinds, internal and external. Internal sphoṭa and pratibhā are interchangeable expressions as they do not signify two different entities but represent the same supreme verbal principle which is unitary and indivisible. Bhartṛhari while dealing with the nature of śabda recognizes two entities, both of which may be called words. Of these two, one is said to be the cause of the articulate sound, while the other is associated with meaning. On the basis of this statement, Maṇḍana Miśra contends, out of these two levels, the significative level of linguistic utterance is regarded as sphoṭa. Again this is taken from the book of Usha Rathore[7].

Sphoṭa Doctrine and Maṇḍana Miśra

Whenever it comes to referring to śabda, there always arises confusion- is śabda of Saṇskrit language or is it śabda from śabda-brahman? According to Maṇḍana Miśra, śabda, cannot refer to the individual phonemes, because in themselves they convey no meaning. According to his definition, śabda is that which causes the birth of knowledge. Individual phonemes without knowledge content cannot therefore be called śabda. According to Maṇḍana Miśra, the key point is that the word is capable of conveying meaning regardless of its being understood or not in specific instances.

Varṇavāda

The opponents of Maṇḍana Miśra are Mīmāṃsaka-Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Naiyāyika-Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. According to Mīmāṃsakas the word is nothing more than the phonemes themselves. Kumārilabhaṭṭa says that words are what we actually hear. We do not hear sphoṭa and thus it is not śabda. Mīmāṃsakas are padavādins while grammarians are vākyavādins. According to varṇavādins, the cognition of each phonemes, though momentary by nature leaves a lasting impression called 'saṃskāra'. In the word 'gauḥ' the cognition of the visarga (indicated by ḥ) at the end, accompanied by the impressions of the cognition of two previous phonemes (or syllables) 'ga' and 'au' produces the effect of conveying the meaning. Grammarians say if phonemes have meanings, then two words 'jarā' and 'rāja' must have

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given us the same meaning. They argue that it is the sphoṭa that gives them meanings and not phonemes. To counter this argument Kumārilabhaṭṭa says that letters have significance only when they are felt in sequence (krama). Another objection of Mīmāṃsakas to sphoṭavāda is as follows - the sphoṭa is not perceptible and hence cannot be known by inference from its function i.e. the conveying of an idea for it involves fallacy of interdependence. Although varṇavādins say phonemes have meanings, to the best of my knowledge, no meanings of individual phonemes are listed by them. This problem was discussed in my paper published last year by Dhīmahi 2.

Later Grammarians and Maṇḍana Miśra

In later grammarians are included Śeṣakṛṣṇa, Nāgeśa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa. The *Sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra is a mixture of philosophy, general linguistics and Sanskrit grammar. Having taken a pure physical view of śabda, the Mīmāṃsakas turned to the old theory of 'Upavarṣa' and accordingly identified śabda with letters. To explain how meaning is understood from a word or the sentence, it is necessary to assume that the word or the sentence is a single meaning bearing unit. This is what sphoṭa doctrine of Maṇḍana Miśra really does. This is taken from the book by Usha Rathore[7]. From the point of view of language description and communication, the concept of sphoṭa is not mysterious, so Maṇḍana Miśra has not gone to that metaphysical extent. In short Maṇḍana Miśra accepts sphoṭavāda without losing himself in the mysticism of śabda-brahman. However we cannot say the same in case of later grammarians. Some of them have taken linguistic sphoṭa from mundane level to the level of śabda-brahman. Nāgeśa points out that the transition of the eternal sphoṭa or śabda-brahman from the highest level to the form of the spoken or audible word or sound at the lowest level is described as occurring in four stages technically known as parā, paśyantī, madhyamā and vaikharī. Parā is the eternal śabda-brahman also called by some nāda.[11]

Thus we have three different sphoṭa doctrines - first that of Patañjali and of scholars prior to him like Vyādi, second that of Bhartṛhari and Maṇḍana Miśra and third that of later grammarians like Nāgeśa.

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Sphoṭa and Physics of Sound

Sound produced by a human being or by an animal or by an instrument is a wave motion of compressions and refractions traveling through air. Since wave motion is of periodic nature, a simple sound wave is described by its wave length, frequency amplitude and shape of the wave motion. Speech sounds are more complex. Speech sounds differ from each other in several basic physical properties each of which has acoustic characteristic such as frequency, amplitude and wave shape. The human ear is able to distinguish between two or more sounds when the sounds differ in one or more characteristics of pitch, loudness, and quality or timbre. A sound wave has both subjective and objective criteria. For every objective criterion ascribed to sound, there is a corresponding subjective attribute about how it is perceived. The frequency of a sound wave is perceived as a pitch, the amplitude as loudness, spectrum as timbre, phase difference as presence, duration as length and reflection-absorption as ambience. So if the same word is pronounced by a child, a woman and a man, the listener immediately recognizes who uttered the word. This is so because in the voice of a child and a woman higher frequency components are present while in the voice of a man lower frequency components dominate. Depending on their vocal organs physical characteristics, timbre would be different. In short the listener hears the same word although its sound characteristics were slightly different in three utterances. Now using the language of Patañjali one can say that in three cases the sphoṭa remained the same but in the pronunciation by each of them, dhvani had different frequency distribution. For the connection between sphoṭa and dhvani, Bhartṛhari points out that the perception of sphoṭa is not identical with the perception of sound. One can think a second analogy in order to explain the difference between dhvani and sphoṭa. The English letter, 'A' can be written using different types of fonts like -

A, *A*, *A*, A, *A*

and so on. No matter how the individual font looks like, we still understand it is the English letter 'A'. Here ākṛti (form) of these letters is different while the letter 'A' is the same. When a word is pronounced

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by different persons, it may sound different to ears of listeners but it produces the same sphoṭa. In short, using algebraic equation, one could write that -

(uttered word-its phonetic variations) = sphoṭa

or (vyāharaṇam-vyākṛti) = sphoṭa

This is the fourth demystified sphoṭa doctrine.

Now one can say that three slightly different pronunciations of a single word do not produce three different meanings but they produce the same one meaning. When we write a word using phonetic script, we write its sphoṭa and not dhvani. We can have three dhvani citraṣ (sound images) of three different pronunciations of the same word using the modern technique of sound spectrogram. So in order to explain this idea, the concept of sphoṭa was introduced. But meaning does not come from sphoṭa. Then what is the source of meanings of Sanskrit śabdas?

Varṇas as Source of Meaning in Sanskrit śabdas

So now the confusion over dhvani and sphoṭa is behind us. By using physics of speech sounds, we have demystified sphoṭa doctrine in Sanskrit semantics. Let us concentrate on the main point of contention. To start with the main point of contention was whether the isolated phonemes are the smallest significant and meaning-bearing units existing separately on their own in Sanskrit language or not. The most important topic of mantra śāstra in Indian religious history is closely related to the linguistics of Sanskrit. The topic is whether the meanings of Sanskrit words are conventional or there is something intrinsic about them. The majority of the ancient Indian scholars and the modern Sanskrit scholars believed that the meanings of Sanskrit words are conventional. But many ancient Indian Ācāryas appear to support varṇavāda. However none of these, to the best of the knowledge of this author, offer keys of decipherment of the basic meanings of Sanskrit varṇas or phonemes. According to the author of this paper, the key is in the periodic table of articulated letter-sounds of Sanskrit called varṇamālā. Here are two hypotheses.

First hypothesis: Any possible one to one relationship between sound of varṇas and their corresponding intrinsic semantic categories must be consistent with acoustic properties of sounds of varṇas.

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Second hypothesis: The systematic and periodic arrangement of varṇas of the alphabet of Sanskrit according to their places of origin in the human vocal tract suggests the possibility of existence of the underlying systematic network of semantic categories associated with varṇas.

Examples of Phonemic Symbolism

In other words semantic categories associated with phonemes are not randomly worked out on trial and error basis but in my scheme of phonemic symbolism they have the concrete systematic foundation. In short meaning gradually undergoes changes in the first row from the phoneme/k/to the last nasal/n/. No abrupt change. The same happens for the rest six rows of varṇamālā. So it became easy to decipher them. Examples of fixed meanings of phonemes/c/, and /gh/and that of prefix/ abhi/ were given in the special issue of Dhīmahi[2] published in 2012. Meanings of many other phonemes were published in the seven issues of the quarterly journal Vedic Science between 2005 and 2008. Fixed meaning of one prefix (upasarga) - 'prati' and fixed meanings of two phonemes/l/and/ś/ from the sixth row of Sanskrit varṇamālā are provided in this paper. This row was rearranged as /y/, /r/, /v/, /l/ and / ś/ in order to match with the upper five rows.

Upasargas change meanings of roots. The Sanskrit dictionary of V. S. Apte, lists many meanings under a single upasarga like 'prati'. To create a new Sanskrit word for English technical word, upasargas having fixed meanings prove to be very useful. Behind multiple meanings of a single upasarga, there appears to be a fixed meaning according to this scheme. Upasargas are chosen first because they are made of few phonemes, only five phonemes (letter sounds) and two syllables in case of 'prati.'

The dictionary meanings of the prefix 'prati' are many. They are as follow: towards, back, down, upon, likeness, equality, in opposition, counter, near etc. However according to the phonemic symbolism proposed in this paper, the prefix 'prati' has only one fixed meaning and it is 'equal to or less than the original.' Let us see examples.

Examples are taken from the dictionary of V. S. Apte.

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1. Prati-dhvani: Echo.

The quality of an echo (prati-dhvaṇi) is less than the original sound signal (dhvani). The quality of the echo depends on the sound reflecting medium. In the ideal case the quality of pratidhvani may come very close to the original dhvani but it still remains slightly less than the incident dhvani.

2. Prati-bimba: Image.

The quality of the image (prati-bimba) is less than the quality of the object (bimba). Here also the quality of the image depends on the quality of the medium producing the image. It may approach the quality of the object but will never equal it.

3. Prati-kāra: Reaction.

When one hits (kāra-the action) the table with his hand, the table hits the hand back (prati-kāra) which is reaction to the original hitting action. In the process of reaction, the portion of the incident energy is lost as heat and sound. The reaction is therefore less than the action.

4. Prati-panna: gained, or obtained or a share of a company.

The business company sell share (prati-panna) in order to raise the capital (panna). A share is much smaller than the total capital. This word has second beautiful meaning. It means one's share in life or whatever the GOD has allotted to, one has to carry through his life. In Sanskrit, it is said 'nirvāḥ pratipanna vastuṣu' - Recognize your share in life and honor it.

5. Prati-jñāna: Acknowledgement, admission, affirmation.

The acknowledgement is shorter than the extent of the original knowledge (jñāna).

6. Prati-nidhi: A representative.

An ambassador is representative (a single person) of his government (a much bigger establishment (nidhi). Thus a pratinidhi is smaller than the nidhi. In statistics one studies sample (prati-nidhi) that would represent the properties of the bigger population (nidhi).

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7. Prati-graha: Receiving, accepting, receiver, the rear of an army. However there is one more interesting meaning of this word as 'a spitting pot' given in the dictionary. The parent word - graha means to take while the word prati-graha means to discard a portion of it. The discarded portion is received somewhere. When we chew on something like sugar cane, we swallow juice and throw away the fiber in a spitting pot - a prati-graha. It could also be called sink. Thus pratigraha is less than graha.

8. Prati-mā: Image, Photograph, copy, an idol.

The parent word 'mā' means to measure. A copy or image is less than or at the most equal in quality to the original measurement.

9. Prati-kūlam: adversely, contrarily.

The parent word 'kūlam' means a shore, bank. So the word 'prati-kūlam' means less than the shore or short of the shore. In other words the shore is not arrived yet. When the circumstances are unfavorable, the situation becomes 'prati-kūlam' and when they are favorable, it becomes 'anu-kūlam'.

10. Prati-kṛti: perceptible to the eye, visible.

What is seen by the eyes (akṣa) depends upon the quality of the eyesight. If the eyesight is less than perfect, then even the 'pratyakṣa' (seen by the eyes) is less than the real picture or situation. Here 'pratyakṣa' is the sandhi word of 'prati+akṣa'

11. Prati-kṛti: a substitute.

A substitute is usually less in quality or at the most equal to the original.

12. Pratīka: It means a token or a souvenir, which is less in size or quality than the original.

13. Pratyaya: It means an affix to be attached to the main word called prakṛti. The affix is usually smaller than the main word.

14. Prātipadikam: It means 'pada' without 'pratyaya'. So it is less in size or in meaning than 'pada' which is prakṛti with pratyaya.

15. Pratyāya: a toll, tax.

Tax is only certain percentage of the value or income. So it is less than 'āya' income.

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16. Pratyāhāra: It is the short combination of the first letter of a sūtra with its final indicatory letter. Thus pratyāhāra is shorter than the sūtra or sometimes shorter than many sūtras. Thus our meaning of the prefix fits well to technical words of Sanskrit grammar.

17. Pratisandhāna: the period of transition between two ages. This period is always shorter than the long duration of ages.

18. Pratibhā: It is generally translated as flash of intuition or conception. It also means the conscious use of a polysemic word in one of its meanings. In other words the user is filtering out one use out of many. Sometimes the meaning of words intended by the speaker to be one thing, is understood by different listeners differently according to their own background or according to their own 'pratibhā' is a filter that filters out knowledge'bhā'. Sometimes 'pratibhā' (pratibhāta-understood) comes very close to the original understanding which is 'bhā'. Pratibhā also means appearance, look.

These eighteen examples illustrate that the prefix-'prati' has the fixed meaning 'equal to or less than'. One has to think slowly to see shades of meanings in Sanskrit words.

Next let us see examples of fixed meaning of few phonemes.

The sound of the semivowel phoneme /l/ is aspirated and voiced. It is the third sound from the sixth row of varṇamālā. This row was rearranged as /y/, /r/, /l/, /v/ and /ś/ in order to match with the upper five rows. The meaning increases gradually from /y/ to /v/ and then decreases for /l/ and /ś/. It is like a stretched string of a bow, nodes at both ends and anti-node in the middle. The same structure holds good for all seven rows of 35 varṇas. The meaning of the phoneme /l/ is chosen as 'staying within amplitude'. Let us see examples from the dictionary of V. S. Apte:

1. Laj: The Sanskrit root laj means to blush. The act of blushing involves staying with limits. When a little girl blushes, she smiles or projects herself at one moment and then pulls back at the next moment.

2. Likh: The process of writing (scribing) involves lining of letters next to each other almost of the same size. Letters are resolved sufficiently and they stay within their size or amplitude. The Sanskrit root for writing

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is likh. The semantic category of 'staying within limits' of /l/ supports the traditional meaning of the root likh.

3. Laghu: The adjective laghu means little or small. It means not excessive but within limits.

4. Laya: The word laya means gradual merging and 'staying within amplitude'.

5. Lakṣya: It means target. The advice is to reduce the attention from other objects and keep it in the limits of the target.

6. Tāla: It means rhythm. It stays within its amplitude.

7. Mālā: It means a garland in which flowers stay within their positions.

8. Ḍolanam: It means a swing. It remains within its amplitude. Amplitude means going from one end to other and returning.

9. Leśa: It means residue. It is small.

10. Lepa: It means coating. It remains within limits of the substratum.

11. Kalā: It means a phase like the phase of a moon.

12. Līna: It means polite. A polite person stays within his own limits.

13. Mīl: This root means to close or contact eyelids. Here also the meaning of the phoneme /l/ is present.

14. Phala: It means a fruit. It is together and not spread like a leaf.

15. Nala: In the story of Nala and Damayanti, Nala gets contracted or deformed when bitten by serpent Kārkoṭaka. This story also fits to the meaning of /l/ discussed in this paper.

16. Lakṣmaṇa Rekhā: In the epic Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma appointed his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa to protect his wife Sītā when he left on the track of a golden deer in the forest. When Rāmā did not return after a long time, anxious Sītā asked her brother-in-law Lakṣmaṇa to go and find her husband in the forest. Lakṣmaṇa was not ready to leave Sītā alone in the forest hut. After too much insistence from Sītā , Lakṣmaṇa decided to leave. Before leaving he however drew a line in dirt in front of the hut and prayed his sister-in-law not to cross the line under any circumstances until his brother and he returned from the forest. The line mark on the ground is called Lakṣmaṇa Rekhā (the line of Lakṣmaṇa). It was telling Sītā to stay within amplitude as indicated by the phoneme

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/l/ in its spelling. This story tells us internal beauty of Sanskrit words which resonate with Indian culture. These examples are enough to prove that the phoneme /l/ has fixed meaning. The phoneme /l/ can appear anywhere in the spelling of the word. It will give the same meaning.

Let us see the meaning of the last phoneme /ś/ in the same sixth row. Its meaning cannot be anything else but one step lower than the meaning of /l/. So we accept the meaning of the phoneme /ś/ as to 'decrease in the amplitude' or 'to taper down'. Let us see examples. They are taken from the dictionary of V. S. Apte.

1. **Śākhā:** The word śākhā is the branch of a tree that tapers down at the other end and is thick at the trunk.

2. **Śikhara:** The word śikhara means a tapering peak of a mountain. It also means a tapering tower of the Hindu temple richly decorated with tiny colorful figures from Purāṇas and the Epics.

3. **Śaṅkha:** The word for tapering conch shell is śaṅkha. This is uṇādi śabda. The phonemic symbolism can explain easily meanings of many uṇādi śabdas without inventing unrelated roots.

4. **Śam:** The root śam means to be pacified, to be quiet, to subside or decrease in amplitude. The word śānti means peace.

5. **Śīta:** The adjective śīta means cool or cold. A cold object has decreased amplitude of vibrations of its atoms or molecules about their mean positions.

6. **Śāstram:** The Sanskrit word for science is śāstram where the knowledge is arranged in a kind of order, according to logic, without unnecessary rhetoric or verbose language. The science of words is called śabda śāstram in which words compete even with mathematics in the process of reduction of redundancy.

7. **Śuṇḍa:** The long nose of an elephant is called śuṇḍa. It tapers down from his head to toe.

8. **Śūnya:** The word śūnya means zero reaching the completely decreased amplitude.

9. **Śṛṅga:** The word śṛṅga means a horn, which of course tapers down.

10. **Śeṣa Nāga:** The name of the huge cobra on which Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa is happily reclined is Śeṣa Nāga. A cobra with fanned hood at the head

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and tapering tail supports the decoded semantic category of the sound of /ś/ in his name. Śeṣa means remainder.

11. Śiva: Lord Śiva after the suicide of his first wife Satī in the yajña of her father Dakṣa gave up everything and sat naked with ash smeared on his body (decreased amplitude) in the place reserved for burning of dead bodies.

12. Śuka: Śuka muni was famous for his complete vairāgya (renunciation) from the childhood. He was without any paraphernalia, and with decreased amplitude like a parrot inside a cage but separate from the cage.

13. Śudh: It means to purify or to cleanse. When unwanted ingredients are filtered out, the amplitude of the content is reduced.

14. Śarīra: It means the structure of the body or even of the big building.

15. Śuṣka: It means dried. Of course anything dried up has reduced amplitude relative to its being wet.

16. Śukrācārya: The preceptor of Giants (antigods) Śukrācārya understood the trick, the little Brāhmin boy Vāmana was going to play with the mighty giant king Mahābalī. He warned the king that it was Lord Viṣṇu who had arrived begging three strides of land and hence should be turned back empty handed. In the whole world Mahābalī was famous for his charity. He thought for a moment about the warning from his Guru. He, however, was delighted with the thought of Lord Himself begging in front of him in the disguise of a little boy Vāmana. He decided to pour water by a silver jar with a spout on the right hand of the boy confirming the donation of the land. The Brāhmin Śukrācārya was not as broad minded as the king was. In order to obstruct the land deal, Śukrācārya through his spiritual powers entered the spout of the jar to stop water pouring out. Here Guru Śukrācārya decreased his size (amplitude) in order to fit himself in the narrow spout of the jar. The name of Śukrācārya starts with the sound of /ś/ supporting the semantic category of 'taper down' or 'decrease in amplitude' chosen for the phoneme /ś/. The Indian culture and language resonate in this case also. The purpose of this research was to bring out internal semantic beauty of Sanskrit śabdas.

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17. Śabda: We have seen different opinions on Sankrit words śabda, nāda and dhvani throughout this paper. The word 'śabda' starts with the sound of /ś/. There must be the semantic element in it that should show the meaning, 'decrease in amplitude'. Now śabda is sound, dhvani is sound and nāda is sound. So where is the difference? The word 'nināda' means natural frequencies of vibration of an object. A tuning fork vibrates for a long time with its natural frequency. It is called ringing sound. Yogis hear anāhata nāda as continuous ringing of bell or water flowing. When we say a śabda of a language it is short duration sound and not ringing sound. This short duration sound is called 'pulse' in English. So the correct meaning of the word 'śabda' is sound pulse or dhvani pulse. This fits to our meaning of the phoneme /ś/. The śabda-brahman may also be the pulse of creation, the original pulse. The pulse shorter than śabda is called śabda-bindu in Tantras. Thus varṇātmaka śabda is pulse and dhvanyātmaka śabda is also pulse. So śabda is not sphoṭa according to my definition. Other scholars think both śabda and artha are sphoṭa.

Conclusion

The ancient scholars of India discussed varṇavāda but they never listed explicitly the individual fixed meaning of Sanskrit varṇas. This paper attempts to prove the symbolism by exploring fixed meanings of one prefix and two phonemes. It is not possible to present fixed meanings of all letter-sounds in one paper. The meanings chosen are not picked up on trial and error basis but they were tied to acoustic properties of those phonemes. As acoustic properties move gradually from the first phoneme to the fifth (the last) phoneme in a row in the periodic table of Sanskrit alphabet, so semantic categories move with them from left to right. In the meaning of a single śabda meanings of all phonemes in the word participate starting from the last phoneme to the first phoneme (krama). Thus our hypotheses are proved. This is called internal beauty of Sanskrit based on varṇavāda.

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5

गुजरात में संगृहीत शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों में शारदा-परम्परा

वसन्तकुमार म भट्ट

भूमिकाः- महाकवि कालिदास (ई. सा. पूर्व प्रथम शती) का अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल संस्कृत-नाट्यसाहित्य की सर्वश्रेष्ठ कृति है। इस नाटक का पाठ हमारे देश की विभिन्न लिपियों में लिखी हुई (भुर्जपत्र, ताडपत्र एवं कागज की) पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित होता हुआ हम तक पहुँचा है। लेकिन इन पाण्डुलिपियों में आज उपलब्ध हो रहा पाठ सर्वत्र एकरूप नहीं है। क्योंकि यह नाटकप्रारम्भ से हि लोकप्रिय बना है, अतः वह रंगमंच पर बार बार अभिनीत भी होता रहा है। परिणाम स्वरूप हर प्रदेश की नटमण्डली के सूत्रधारों ने उसके मौलिक पाठ में अनेक परिवर्तन भी किये है। शाकुन्तल में आये हुए प्राकृत संवादों का पाठ भी स्थल-काल के अनुसार निरंतर बदलता रहा है। कदाचित् एक प्रान्त की पाण्डुलिपि जब दूसरे प्रान्त के पाठकों के पास पहुँचती है, तब संभवतः दूसरे प्रान्त का पाठकवर्ग उसको अधिक श्रद्धेय मान कर उस पाठ का अनुकरण करता है। किन्तु इस तरह के पाठ-परिवर्तन एवं पाठसंचरण का निश्चित इतिहास किसी को ज्ञात नहीं है। हाँ, कुछ ठोस प्रमाण मिलने पर उसका अनुमान किया जा सकता है। देश के विभिन्न प्रान्तों से पाण्डुलिपियाँ एकत्र करके उनका पुनः परीक्षण करना आवश्यक है। क्योंकि शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों का अभी तक सर्वग्राही व्यापक अभ्यास किसी ने किया हो ऐसा दिखता नहीं है। प्रस्तुत आलेख में देवनागरी वाचना की कतिपय पाण्डुलिपियाँ, जो गुजरात के गौरवास्पद ऐतिहासिक पाटण' जिले से प्राप्त हो रही है, उनकी चर्चा करना अभीष्ट है।

पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित हुआ शाकुन्तल का पाठ सर्वत्र एक समान नहीं होने के कारण संस्कृत के विद्याजगत् में उसके मौलिक पाठ के सन्दर्भ में विवाद चल रहा है। पाण्डुलिपियों में देखे तो इस नाटक का पाठ कुल मिला के पाँच पाठ-परम्पराओं में (वाचनाओं में) प्रवहमान है:- १. देवनागरी, २. दाक्षिणात्य, ३. काश्मीरी, ४. मैथिली एवं ५. बंगाली वाचना। इन पाँचों में से कौन सी वाचना का पाठ मौलिकता के समीप है या अधिक श्रद्धेय है? इस विषय में करीब दो सौ साल से विवाद चल रहा है। किसी के मत से देवनागरी वाचना का पाठ अधिक श्रद्धेय है तो दूसरे विद्वानों के अभिप्राय से बंगाली वाचना का पाठ अधिक श्रद्धेय है। विद्वन्-मूर्धन्य श्री एस. के. बेलवालकर जी काश्मीरी वाचना के पक्षधर है। (दाक्षिणात्य वाचना बहुशः देवनागरी से मिलती है, और मैथिली वाचना बंगाली की ओर ज्यादा झुकी हुई है। अतः इन दोनों का समावेश अनुक्रम से देवनागरी एवं बंगाली में कर

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लिया जाय तो उनकी स्वतन्त्र वाचना के रूप में गिनती क्यूँ नहीं की जाती है ऐसा कोई विवाद नहीं ऊठेगा।) विगत सौ डेढ सौ साल के अन्तराल में इन पाँचों वाचनाओं के आधार पर शाकुन्तल का 'समीक्षित पाठ' (Critically Edited Text) सम्पादित करने के लिये कुछ विद्वानों ने प्रयास किया है। इनमें से बंगाली वाचना के पाठ सम्पादन का प्रयास ध्यानास्पद है और प्रशंसनीय भी है। क्योंकि बंगाली लिपि में लिखी हुई ढेर सारी पाण्डुलिपियों का विनियोग करके डा. रिचार्ड पिशेल (१८९८) तथा डा. दिलीपकुमार काञ्जीलाल (१९८०) ने वह कार्य सम्पन्न किया है। काश्मीर की शारदा-लिपि में लिखी हुई पाण्डुलिपियों के आधार पर शाकुन्तल का काश्मीरी पाठ निर्धारित करने का कार्य डाँ. बेलवालकर जी ने शूरु किया था। किन्तु उनके देहावसान के कारण यह कार्य अधूरा रहा है। साहित्य अकादेमी, नई दिल्ली से प्रकाशित उनकी तथाकथित समीक्षितावृत्ति की प्रस्तावना में पाण्डुलिपियों का कोई ब्यौरा नहीं है। तथा पादटीप में एक भी पाठभेद का निर्देश नहीं है[२]। उसी तरह से, देवनागरी वाचना के पाठसम्पादन का जो आरम्भिक कार्य मोनीयर विलियम्स तथा श्री पी. एन. पाटणकर ने किया है, वे भी सर्वथा संतोषप्रद नहीं है।

देवनागरी वाचना की पाण्डुलिपियों का विनियोग करके १९वीं शती में श्री पी. एन. पाटणकर (Patankar, 1902) एवं मोनियर विलीयम्स (Williams, 1961, 3rd edition) ने अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल की समीक्षित आवृत्तियाँ प्रकाशित की थी। किन्तु इन दोनों विद्वानों ने विपुल ग्रन्थराशि से समृद्ध ऐसे गुजरात के जैन ग्रन्थभण्डारों में संगृहीत प्राचीनतर पाण्डुलिपियाँ देखी ही नहीं थी। जिसके कारण गुजरात में ११वीं शताब्दी से प्रचलित, शाकुन्तल की जो देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा थी उसका उनमें प्रतिनिधित्व/प्रतिबिम्ब ही नहीं है। दूसरी वास्तविकता यह भी है कि देवनागरी वाचना के विभिन्न प्रवाहों की गतिविधियों का गहरा अभ्यास भी शायद किसी ने नहीं किया है। डा. दिलीपकुमार काञ्जीलाल ने देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा के तीन स्वरूप का निर्धारण किया है:- १. देवनागरी, २. मिश्रदेवनागरी एवं ३. संक्षिप्त की गई देवनागरी वाचना। लेकिन इस चर्चा में भी गुजरात की, विशेष रूप से हेमचन्द्राचार्य के समय की देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा का उल्लेख ही नहीं है। अतः प्रस्तुत आलेख में गुजरात की तीन प्रकाशाभिलाषी पाण्डुलिपियाँ का औपचारिक परिचय देकर, उसका वैशिष्ट्य प्रतिपादन किया जा रहा है। तथा उसकी प्राचीनतरता की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया जायेगा।

देवनागरी शाकुन्तल की तथाकथित समीक्षित आवृत्तियाँ

अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल की देवनागरी वाचना का समीक्षित पाठ सम्पादन करनेवाले विद्वानों में मोनियर विलियम्स प्रथम है। उन्होंने १८५७ ई.सा. में प्रथम बार शाकुन्तल का प्रकाशन किया था। तत्पश्चात् १८७६ ई. सा. में दूसरा, और १९६१ ई. सा. में तीसरा संस्करण निकला है। इस प्रकाशन के प्रथम पृष्ठ पर लिखा है कि वे देवनागरी वाचना के पाठ को प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। जिसमें उन्होंने भारत देश के पूर्व, पश्चिम तथा दक्षिण भाग से तीन-चार पाण्डुलिपियाँ

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प्राप्त करके, एवं दो बंगाली पाण्डुलिपियाँ लेकर अपनी समीक्षितावृत्ति प्रस्तुत की है। विशेष में उन्होंने काटयवेम, शंकर तथा चन्द्रशेखर की तीन टीकाओं का भी विनियोग किया था। वे कहते है कि किसी भी पाठान्तर का निर्णय करने से पहले उन्होंने ये तीन टीकाओं का अवलोकन भी अवश्य किया है। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से इन तीनों में से एक भी टीका देवनागरी वाचना के पाठ पर नहीं लिखी गई है। काटयवेम ने दाक्षिणात्य पाठ को लिया था, शंकर ने मैथिल पाठ लिया था एवं चन्द्रशेखर ने बंगाली पाठ लिया था। (और देवनागरी वाचना के शाकुन्तल पर जिन्होंने टीका लिखी है, वे राघवभट्ट की टीका मोनियर विलियम्स के समय में प्रकाशित नहीं थी और किसी को ज्ञात भी नहीं थी।) परिणामतः मोनीयर विलियम्स के शाकुन्तल में अनेक स्थानों पर बंगाली वाचनाओं के पाठान्तरों का स्वीकार हो गया है। उदाहरण रूप में - आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नामोपवासो भविष्यति। (मो. वि. पृ. ९०) यह बंगाली पाठानुसारी वाक्य है। देवनागरी वाचना के अनुसार तो यह वाक्य इस तरह का होना चाहिए:- आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे प्रवृत्तपारणो नामोपवासो भविष्यति। (राघवभट्ट, पृ. ८१) एवमेव, मोनियर विलियम्स के द्वारा एकत्र की गई जो पाण्डुलिपियाँ है वह पूर्ण रूप से देवनागरी लिपि के सभी प्रदेशों का सम्यक् प्रतिनिधित्व भी नहीं करती है। इसका निष्कर्ष यही है कि मोनियर विलियम्स ने जो देवनागरी वाचना का समीक्षित पाठ प्रस्तुत करने का दावा किया है, वह सर्वाङ्गीण दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो ग्राह्य नहीं हो सकता है।

देवनागरी वाचना के समीक्षित पाठसम्पादन करनेवाले दूसरे प्रशस्य विद्वान् श्री पी. एन. पाटणकर हैं। उन्होंने सम्पादित किये हुए शाकुन्तल की आवृत्ति १९०२ ई. सा. में प्रकाशित हुई थी। पाटणकर जी ने दावा किया है कि उन्होंने शाकुन्तल का 'शुद्धतर देवनागरी' पाठ सम्पादित किया है। किन्तु प्रथम ध्यातव्य बिन्दु यह है कि उन्होंने कृति का शीर्षक 'अभिज्ञानशकुन्तल' माना है। वस्तुतः यह शीर्षक बंगाली, मैथिली और काश्मीरी वाचना में चल रहा है। देवनागरी वाचना में तो 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल' ऐसा ही है। दूसरा परीक्षणीय बिन्दु वह है कि उन्होंने एकत्र की हुई सामग्री का विश्लेषण प्रस्तावना में वे लिखते है कि उन्होंने उपयोग में ली हुई पाण्डुलिपियाँ तथा प्रकाशित ग्रन्थों की संख्या कुल मिला के १९ है। इस सामग्री में ११ पाण्डुलिपियाँ है, जिनमें से ३ बंगाली पाण्डुलिपियाँ थी, १ काश्मीर की शारदा पाण्डुलिपि थी। तथा प्रकाशित पुस्तकें कुल ८ थे। चार टीका ग्रन्थों में से एक आधुनिक टीकाकार श्रीकृष्णनाथ है (जिन्होंने बंगाली पाठ पर टीका लिखी है), दूसरे है - १. काटयवेम, २. राघवभट्ट एवं ३. श्रीनिवासाचार्य। इन तीनों में से राघवभट्ट को छोड अवशिष्ट दोनों टीकाकार दाक्षिणात्य है। तथा तीसरा बिन्दु यह है कि इन में गुजरात के विश्व मान्य जैन ग्रन्थभण्डारों से एक भी देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपि प्राप्त नहीं की। एवमेव, राजस्थान (के जैसलमेर एवं बीकानेर) या वाराणसी के ग्रन्थभण्डारों का भी आलोडन नहीं किया गया था।

१९वीं शती के अन्त भाग में ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर ने राघवभट्ट के पाठ को ही देवनागरी वाचना का सही प्रतिनिधिभूत पाठ माना था। किन्तु श्री पी. एन. पाटणकर (पूर्णे)

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इससे सहमत नहीं थे। उन्होंने शाकुन्तल के देवनागरी वाचना का समीक्षित पाठ सम्पादन तैयार करने के लिये जो दृष्टिबिन्दु रखा था वह इस तरह का था:– 'समालोचकों की दृष्टि में बंगाली वाचना का पाठ जब पुनरुक्ति एवं प्रक्षेपों से भरा हुआ होने से आघातजनक सिद्ध हुआ है तब नाटक के पाठ में (बंगाली पाठ के प्रक्षेपों की) कटौती एवं पुनर्व्यवस्थापन का कार्य ही स्वाभाविक रूप से मान्य हो सकता है[३]।' एवमेव, श्री पाटणकर जीने यह सयुक्तिक दिखाया है कि राघवभट्ट के द्वारा स्वीकृत पाठ में अनेक स्थानों पर विसंगतियाँ है। उन्होंने जो पाठ निर्धारित करके हमारे सामने रखा है वह राघवभट्ट के पाठ से प्राचीनतर है।[४] (लेकिन श्री पाटणकर जी ने जिसका निर्देश नहीं किया है वह वास्तविकता यह है कि राघवभट्ट द्वारां पुरस्कृत पाठ देवनागरी वाचना का 'संक्षिप्ततमं पाठ' है और नित्य परिवर्तनशील बनी उस वाचना के तृतीय सोपान का प्रतिनिधिभूत है।)

इसके अतिरिक्त, देवनागरी वाचना के शाकुन्तल का समीक्षित पाठ तैयार करनेवालों में कोलक़ाता के प्रो. श्री गौरीनाथ शास्त्री उल्लेखनीय है। उनका सम्पादित किया हुआ शाकुन्तल, साहित्य अकादेमी, नयी दिल्ली ने (१९८३) प्रकाशित किया है। लेकिन इस विद्वान् ने शाकुन्तल के केवल प्रकाशित संस्करणों का ही उपयोग किया है। इन्होंने एक भी देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपि देखी नहीं थी। दूसरे विद्वन्मूर्धन्य पं. श्री रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदीजी हैं। जिन्होंने एशियाटिक सोसायटी, कोलकाता की एक पाण्डुलिपि (क्रमांक-जी./३४०) का विनियोग किया था, और तदितर अवशिष्ट सभी सामग्री प्रकाशित थीं[५]। (इस सामग्री में पी. एन. पाटणकर की आवृत्ति का उल्लेख नहीं है।) कालिदास अकादेमी, उज्जैन से हिन्दी अनुवाद के साथ निकली कालिदास-ग्रन्थावली (२०१०) में उन्होंने एल. डी. इन्डोलोजी, अहमदाबाद से प्राप्त की हुई एक ध्यानास्पद (क्रमांक-१९४८) पाण्डुलिपि का फोटोग्राफ दिया है। लेकिन उस पाण्डुलिपि के अन्दर तृतीय अङ्क का पाठ 'विस्तृतपाठ' है, जो सम्भवत: काश्मीरी पाठपरम्परा के अनुसार है उसकी ओर ध्यान नहीं गया है। उसी तरह से गुजराती भाषा के गणमान्य कवि श्री स्वर्गस्थ उमाशंकर जे. जोशी ने भी अपने शाकुन्तल[६] में कहा है कि उन्होंने भी पाटण से शाकुन्तल की दो हस्तलिखित पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राप्त की थी। किन्तु उनके ग्रन्थ में कहीं पर भी इन पाण्डुलिपिओं में दिख रहे तृतीयांक के नवीन या अधिक पाठभेद का प्रकट या अप्रकट निर्देश नहीं किया गया है। यानि की उन्होंने पाटण की पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राप्त करके भी उसका कोई लाभ नहीं ऊठाया है, या उसका महत्त्व नहीं समझा। कालिदास-पाठसमीक्षा के इतिहास की यह एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हकीकत है कि ११वीं शती से गुजरात में संचरित हुए शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों का वैशिष्ट्य अद्यावधि अन्धेरे में ही रहा है।

इस समग्र चर्चा से यही प्रतिफलित होता है कि शाकुन्तल का देवनागरी वाचना का समीक्षित पाठसम्पादन करने के जो भी प्रयास हुए है उसमें गुजरात के पाटण से मिल रही दो पाण्डुलिपियों (एवं एल. डी. इन्स्टीट्युट ओफ इन्डोलोजी, अहमदाबाद की एक तीसरी

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प्रति) का विनियोग अभी तक किसी ने किया ही नहीं है। आधुनिक समय में जब पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राप्त करने के संसाधन बढ गये है तब प्रथमतया पाण्डुलिपियाँ एकत्र करने का उपक्रम सर्वग्राही होना चाहिये। तथा देवनागरी लिपि का विकास लम्बे काल खण्ड में फैला हुआ है, उस इतिहास को देखते हुए शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी वाचना के पाठ में कालानुक्रम की दृष्टि से-

१. देवनागरी का प्राचीनतम

२. प्राचीनतर एवं

३. प्राचीन या अन्तिम (संक्षिप्ततम)

ऐसे तीन स्तर भी निर्धारित करना चाहिये। एवमेव, देवनागरी वाचना के शाकुन्तल के पाठ में (ही) समय समय पर (संक्षिप्तीकरण की प्रक्रिया के कारण से) अनेक परिवर्तन होते रहे हैं ऐसा दिख रहा है। इस दिशा में एक कदम रखने के आशय से प्रस्तुत आलेख में गुजरात के ऐतिहासिक शिक्षानगर पाटण में से प्राप्त की गई दो पाण्डुलिपियों का परिचय दिया जाता है। तथा 'प्रचलित देवनागरी पाठ'[७] एवं एक शारदा पाण्डुलिपि के साथ उसका यथासम्भव तुलनात्मक अभ्यास दिया जाता है, जिसके आधार पर पाटण की ११वीं शती की शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा की महत्ता उजागर हो पायेगी।

पाटण (गुजरात) से प्राप्त की गई शाकुन्तल की पाण्डुलिपियाँ

विद्वानों ने गुजरात के पाटण की जिन देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों को शायद अभी तक देखा ही नहीं है अथवा देखने के उपरान्त जिसका परीक्षण नहीं किया है उसका परिचय करवाया जाता है। पाटण शहर में १. हेमचन्द्राचार्य ज्ञानमन्दिर, २. वाडी पार्श्वनाथ का जैन ज्ञानभण्डार, एवं ३. 'भाभा नो पाडो' नामक जैन ग्रन्थभण्डार में जैनेतर साहित्य की भी बहुत पाण्डुलिपियाँ आज भी उपलब्ध हो रही है। जिसमें अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल की देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियाँ विशेष रूप से ध्यानास्पद है। तथा एल. डी. इन्स्टीट्युट ओफ इन्डोलोजी, अहमदाबाद के जैन ग्रन्थभण्डार से भी शाकुन्तल की एक देवनागरी प्रति मिल रही है, वह भी उसी की वंशज-प्रति है ऐसा दिखता है।

(क) श्रीहेमचन्द्राचार्य ज्ञान-मन्दिर, पाटण से ३४९/१६६३० क्रमांक की पाण्डुलिपि में ३६ फोलियो (७२ पृष्ठ) है। यह पाण्डुग्रन्थ कागज पर देवनागरी लिपि में लिखित है। मार्जिन में कुत्रचित् आवश्यक टिप्पण भी लिखी गई है। इसकी पुष्पिका में लिखा है कि - समाप्तमिदम् अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलं नाम नाटकम्। लेखक-पाठ(क)योः शुभं भवतु। कल्याणमस्तु। श्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरी द्विविधि-पक्षगणेन्दुभिः गुणसौभाग्य-सूरिभ्यो... दात्रय प्रीताय प्रतिः। ग्र० १२५१।। श्रीरस्तु।। श्रीः।। इस पुष्पिका से स्पष्ट है कि यह जैन मुनि महाराजों के समुदाय में प्रचलित/लिखित प्रति है। यहाँ कृति का जो शीर्षक 'अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम्' दिया गया है वह अतीव ध्यानास्पद है। क्योंकि यहाँ शाकुन्तल के स्थान पर शकुन्तल ऐसा जो शीर्षक है वह मूलतः बंगाली एवं मैथिली या काश्मीरी पाठ परम्परा में

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मिलनेवाला शीर्षक है। अतः यह परीक्षणीय है कि गुजरात के जैन साधु समाज में देवनागरी लिपि में संचरित हुआ इस नाटक का पाठ किस स्वरूप का है? गुजरात के इस देवनागरी-लिपिबद्ध शाकुन्तल के पाठ का साम्य बंगाली या काश्मीरी वाचना के साथ होने का कुछ ऐतिहासिक कारण होना चाहिये। पाटण की इन पाण्डुलिपियों के पाठ का तुलनात्मक अंभ्यास १. देवनागरी के प्रचलित पाठ, २. बंगाली पाठ, तथा ३. शारदालिपि में लिखित पाण्डुलिपि के काश्मीरी पाठ[८] के साथ किया जायेगा। कतिपय उदाहरणों से इसकी चर्चा करना समुचित रहेगाः-

उक्ति	वाक्य	टिप्पण
नान्दीपद्य में	या सृष्टिस्रष्टुराद्या पिबति, विधिहुतं	शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ही इसी तरह का पाठ मिलता है।
सूत्रधार	तदद्य कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिस्तत्प्रतिपात्रमाधीयताम् ..।	यहाँ सूत्रधार के द्वारा कृति का नाम नहीं कहा गया है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में इसी तरह से पाठ चलता है।
नटी-उक्ति	णं अज्जमिस्स्महिं ... । अहिण्णाण-सउंतला णाम अपुरुवं नाडयं पउगे अहिकरीयदुत्ति।	नटी ने बताया है कि अभिज्ञान-शकुन्तल नाटक खेलना है।
आत्मना तृतीयो वैखानसः	सदृशमेतत् पुरुवंशप्रदीपस्य भवतः। सर्वथा चक्रवर्तिनं पुत्रमवाप्नुहि।। एक गद्य वाक्य ही बोलता है।	जन्म यस्य पुरोर्वंशे ... ।। श्लोक से आशीर्वाद का पुनःकथन नहीं है ।
दूसरे अंक में राजा	निराकृतनिमेषाभिः .... श्लोक। न च परिहार्येऽपि वस्तुनि पौरवाणां मनः प्रवर्तते 1-ललिताना संभवं.. । श्लोक	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है। प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में प्रथमश्लोक नहीं है।
करभक-उक्ति	आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपारणो नाम उपवासो भविष्यति।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है। प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में 'प्रवृत्तपारणो' ऐसा पाठ है।
तृतीयांक	मृणाल-वलय पहनाने का एवं मुखमारुत से शकुन्तला के नेत्र से पुष्परज निकालने का विशेष प्रसंग अधिक है।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है। प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में दोनों प्रसंग नहीं है।

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तृतीयांक	श्लोक-संख्या ३६ की है।	बंगाली वाचना में ४१ श्लोक है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ३५ श्लोक है।
चतुर्थांक में	शिष्य के मुख में अपि च से सम्बद्ध चार श्लोक १.याति, २.अन्तर्हिते, ३.कर्कन्धूनाम्, ४.पादन्यासं० मिलते है।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है, किन्तु प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में ३-४ श्लोक नहीं हैं।
पञ्चमांक	हंसपदिका - गीत से अङ्क का आरम्भ होता है। तत्पश्चात् कञ्चुकी का प्रवेश होता है।	बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना में, तथा शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में भी कञ्चुकी के प्रवेश से अङ्क का आरम्भ होता है।
षष्ठांक में विदूषक	परिहास-विकल्पो एस ण भूदत्थोत्ति, मया वि पिंडबुद्धिणा तथेव गिहीदं।	प्रचलित देवनागरी में मृत्पिण्डवुद्धिना ऐसा पाठभेद है। यह पाठ शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में उपलब्ध है।

(ख) वाडी पार्श्वनाथ का जैन भण्डार, पाटण से (क्रमांक - डा. १६९/६६५४ की) एक पाण्डुलिपि प्राप्त की है। इसमें २२ फोलियो है, और कुल ४५ पृष्ठ है। सूक्ष्माक्षरों से लिखी गई है तथा एकार के लिये अग्रमात्रा का विनियोग किया गया है। अर्थात् पुरातन समय की लेखनशैली में होने से यह पुरानी है। यह पाण्डुलिपि सप्तमांक के अन्त भाग में खण्डित हुई है। 'नमः सर्वज्ञाय' से उसका आरम्भ होता है। यद्यपि इस पाण्डुलिपि में जो पाठपरम्परा का अनुगमन किया गया है वह उपरि निर्दिष्ट हेमचन्द्राचार्य ज्ञानमन्दिर की प्रति के साथ बहुशः साम्य रखता है। तथापि तीसरे अङ्क में विस्तृतांश के आरम्भ में कुछ संक्षिप्तीकरण भी है। अब इस पाण्डुलिपि में संचरित हुए पाठ से उदाहरण रूप में कतिपय वाक्यों को लेकर देवनागरी वाचना के प्रकाशित एवं प्रचलित पाठ के साथ तुलना की जाती है:-

वक्ता	उक्ति	टिप्पण
नान्दीपद्य में	या सृष्टिस्स्रष्टुराद्या पिबति, विधिहुतं	शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ही इसी तरह का पाठ मिलता है।
सूत्रधार	तदद्य कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिस्तत्प्रतिपात्रमाधीयताम्..।	शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में इसी तरह से पाठ चलता है। यहाँ सूत्रधार के द्वारा कृति का नाम नहीं कहा गया है।
नटी-उक्ति	णं अज्जमिस्स्मिंहिं ... । अहिण्णाण-सउंतला णाम अपुरुवं नाडयं पउगे अहिकरीयदुत्ति।	नटी ने बताया है कि अभिज्ञान-शकुन्तल नाटक खेलना है।

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आत्मना तृतीयो वैखानसः	सदृशमेतत् पुरुवंशप्रदीपस्य भवतः । सर्वथा चक्रवर्तिनं पुत्रमवाप्नुहि ।। एक गद्य वाक्य ही बोलता है ।	जन्म यस्य पुरोर्वंशे ... ।। श्लोक से आशीर्वाद का पुनःकथन नहीं है ।
तृतीयांक	मृणाल-वलय पहनाने का एवं मुखमारुत से शकुन्तला के नेत्र से पुष्परज निकालने का प्रसंग उन्हीं शब्दों में है।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है, किन्तु प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में दोनों प्रसंग नहीं है।
दूसरे अंक में राजा	निराकृतनिमेषाभिः .... श्लोक । न च परिहार्येपि वस्तुनि पौरवाणां मनः प्रवर्तततते । ललिताना संभवं.. । श्लोक	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य, प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में प्रथमश्लोक नहीं है ।
करभक-उक्ति	आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपारणो नाम उपवासो भविष्यति ।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य, प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में प्रवृत्तपारणो - ऐसा पाठ है ।
तृतीयांक	श्लोक-संख्या ३२ की है ।	बंगाली वाचना में ४१ श्लोक है । शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ३५ श्लोक है ।
चतुर्थांक में	शिष्य के मुख में अपि च से सम्बद्ध चार श्लोक १.याति, २.अन्तर्हिते, ३.कर्कन्धूनाम्, ४.पादन्यासं ० मिलते है ।	बंगाली एवं शारदा में संचरित पाठ से साम्य है, किन्तु प्रचलित (संक्षिप्त) देवनागरी में ३ - ४ श्लोक नहीं है ।
पञ्चमांक	हंसपदिका - गीत से अङ्क का आरम्भ होता है । तत्पश्चात् कञ्चुकी का प्रवेश होता है ।	बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना में, तथा शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में भी कञ्चुकी के प्रवेश से अङ्क का आरम्भ होता है ।
षष्ठांक में विदूषक	परिहास-विकल्पो एस ण भूदत्थोत्ति, मया वि पिंडबुद्धिणा तथेव गिहीदं ।	प्रचलित देवनागरी में मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना ऐसा पाठभेद है । शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना पाठ मिलता है ।

उपर जो निदर्शभूत वाक्य दिये है वे सभी पाटण की प्रथम पाण्डुलिपि के समान ही है। किन्तु वह सर्वथा साम्य रखनेवाली पाण्डुलिपि नहीं है। तीसरे अंक की श्लोक-संख्या में अन्तर है। जैसे कि (क) पाटण की इस दूसरी प्रति में, तीसरे अङ्क के जिन श्लोकों को हटाया गया है वह इस प्रकार से है:- १. वृथैव संकल्पशतैः० (रिचार्ड पिशेल की आवृत्ति में ६ क्रम से), २. संमीलन्ति न तावद् ० (७), ३. शक्योरविन्दसुरभिः ० (८), ४. अभ्युन्नता पुरस्ताहवगाढा ० (९), ५. स्तन-न्यस्तोशीरं ० (१०), ६. शशिकरविशदान्य ० (११), ७. अयं स यस्मात् ० (१७), ८. अपराधमिमं ततः ० (२४) और ९. रहप्रत्यासत्तिं ० (४०)।

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(ग) इस में मालभारिणी छन्द, जो परवर्ती काल में उद्भासित हुआ है, उसमें लिखित एक नया श्लोक (अपरिक्षतकोमलस्य ०) भी समाविष्ट किया गया है। यह श्लोक बंगाली, मैथिली एवं काश्मीरी शारदा परम्परा में नहीं है। (तथा देवनागरी वाचना में जो संक्षिप्तीकरण की प्रक्रिया चल रही है उसके इतिहास पर प्रकाश फेंकनेवाला यही श्लोक उपयुक्त हो सकता है।) श्लोक-संख्या विषयक इन दो वैषम्य को देखने से लगता है कि पाटण की यह दूसरी प्रति में पाठ में कटौती करने की प्रवृत्ति शूरु हो गई है। क्योंकि पाटण की प्रथम प्रति में ३६ श्लोक है और इस दूसरी प्रति में ३२ श्लोक है।

(घ) लालभाई दलपतभाई प्राच्यविद्या मन्दिर, अहमदावाद के ग्रन्थभण्डार में से मिल रही पुरानी पाण्डुलिपि (क्रमांक - १९४८) में २३ फोलियो है, जिनमें से १६वाँ पृष्ठ अनुपलब्ध है। पाण्डुलिपि के मध्य भाग में कृति का मूल पाठ है और चारों ओर जो मार्जिन है उसमें आवश्यक वाक्यों पर छोटी छोटी टिप्पणी भी लिखी गई है। तथा कतिपय प्राकृत संवादों के संस्कृत छायानुवाद भी उसमें दिये गये है। बहुत सुन्दर हस्ताक्षरों से लिखी गई है और एकार के लिये अग्रमात्रा का विनियोग किया गया है। इसकी पुष्पिका में लिखा है कि- इति श्रीकालिदासविरचितस्य शकुन्तला-नाटकस्य सप्तमोङ्कः। (यहाँ "शाकुन्तल" ऐसा नाम नहीं है।) यहाँ पर प्रति का लेखनकाल या लेखक का नाम-निर्देश नहीं है। अब इस पाण्डुलिपि में संचरित हुए पाठ से उदाहरण रूप में कतिपय वाक्यों को लेकर देवनागरी वाचना के प्रकाशित एवं प्रचलित पाठ के साथ तुलना की जाती है:-

उक्ति	वाक्य	टिप्पण
नान्दी	या सृष्टिस्स्रष्टुराद्या पिबति, विधिहुतं ....। प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु ...।।	केवल काश्मीरी शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ही पिबति एवं प्रसन्नः पाठ मिलता है। प्रसन्नः पाठ बंगाली में भी मिलता है। प्रचलित देवनागरी में इन दोनों में से एक भी पाठ नहीं है।।
सूत्रधार	कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेन उपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिः। (सूत्रधार ने कृति का नाम-निर्देश नहीं किया है।)	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में सूत्रधार ने कृति का नाम-निर्देश किया है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में भी कृति का नाम सूत्रधार के मुख में नहीं है।
नटी	अहिण्णाण-सउंतला णाम अपरुबं नाडअं पउगे अहिकरीयदु। (बंगाली - शारदा में भी ऐसा ही है।)	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में अहिण्णाणसाउंतदम् ऐसा नाम है।

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प्रथमांक	अन्तं में शकुन्तला के निष्क्रमण की रंगसूचना ही है।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में भी केवल रंगसूचना है। प्राकृतछायाओं में शकुन्तला का वाचिक भी है।
विदूषक	किं मोदकखण्डिकायां। ....। गिहीदो भावो।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में गिहीदः खणः - ऐसा पाठ है। प्राकृतछायाओं में गहीद जणः है।
राजा	निराकृतनिमेषाभिः० श्लोक, न च सखे, परिहार्येपि पौरवाणां मनः प्रवर्तते। ललितान्यसंभवं किल मुनेरपत्यं० श्लोक।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में पहेला श्लोक नहीं है। दूसरे श्लोक के आरंभ में सुरयुवतिसंभवं ऐसा पाठभेद है।
करभक	आगामि चउत्थ दियसे पुत्तपारणो णाम उवयासो भविस्सदि।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में पउत्तपारणो - ऐसा पाठ है।
राजा दृष्ट्वा	मणिबन्धनगलितमिव .... निगडमिव मे पुरस्तात्।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में यह श्लोक नहीं है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में यह है।
राजा	मृणालवलयं ...। मुखमारुतेन चक्षुः सिंचति।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में यह प्रसंग नहीं है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में यह है।
राजा	हरकोपाग्निदग्ध०। तथा अद्यापि नूनं हरकोप-वह्निस्त्वयि ज्वलत्यौर्व इवाम्बुराशौ०। दोनों श्लोक है।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में ये श्लोक नहीं हैं। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में यह है।
शिष्य	४ अंक के आरंभ में - कर्कन्धूनां०, पादन्यासं०, यात्येकतो०, अन्तर्हिते०। इस क्रम में चार श्लोक है।	प्रचलित देवनागरी के पाठ में पहेले दो श्लोक नहीं हैं। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में इसी क्रम में ४ श्लोक है।
षष्ठांक में विदूषक	परिहास-विकल्पो एस ण भूदत्थोत्ति, मया वि पिंडबुद्धिणा तथेव गिहीदं।	प्रचलित देवनागरी में मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना ऐसा पाठभेद है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना पाठ मिलता है।

हमने जिन वाक्यों को उदाहरण के रूप में लिये हैं उससे मालुम होता है कि एल. डी. इन्स्टीट्युट ओफ इन्डोलोजी की इस प्रति में जो पाठपरम्परा संचरित हुई है वह पाटण की पूर्वोक्त दोनों प्रतियों के साथ बहुशः साम्य रखती है। किन्तु यहाँ यह भी कहना आवश्यक है कि तीसरे अँक की कुल श्लोक-संख्या का पाटण की दो प्रतिओं के साथ पूर्ण साम्य नहीं है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में ३५ श्लोक है, तो पाटण की प्रथम प्रति में ३६ श्लोक है एवं दूसरी प्रति में ३२ श्लोक है। किन्तु एल. डी. इन्डोलोजी की प्रति में ४० श्लोक है। गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः० वाला श्लोक शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में नहीं मिलता है, जो

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उसकी निजी पहचान रूप है। यह श्लोक पाटण की दोनों प्रतिओं में तथा एल.डी. इन्डोलोजी की प्रति में मिलता है। यानि कि जैन परम्परा की ये तीनों पाण्डुलिपियाँ बहुशः शारदा पाण्डुलिपि के साथ साम्य रखती है। किन्तु कालान्तर में देवनागरी पाठ परम्परा में चल रही संक्षिप्तीकरण की प्रवृत्ति से भी प्रभावित होने के साथ साथ, वह बंगाली पाठपरम्परा से भी कुत्रचित् प्रभावित हुई है[१]।

पाटण की पाण्डुलिपियाँ का शारदा पाण्डुलिपि के साथ साम्य कैसे?

पाटण की दो पाण्डुलिपियाँ और अहमदावाद की एक देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपि में जो पाठ संचरित हुआ है उसका बहुशः साम्य शारदा की पाण्डुलिपि के साथ है - ऐसा देखने बाद यह जिज्ञासा प्रादुर्भूत होती है कि यह साम्य कैसे है? इस सन्दर्भ में श्री आर. सी. पारीख ने अपने काव्यानुशासन में कहा है कि गुजरात में संस्कृत विद्या की विकासयात्रा में ११वीं शती महत्त्वपूर्ण है। उसमें भी सिद्धराज जयसिंहदेव का नाम अग्रगण्य है। अणहिलपुर पाटण के इस नरेश ने मालवा पर जित हासिल करके उसने वहाँ की धारा नगरी का ग्रन्थभण्डार गुजरात में ले आया। तत्पश्चात् भोज राजा की कीर्ति का अपकर्ष दिखाने के लिये जयसिंह देव ने आचार्य हेमचन्द्रजी को गुजरात की अस्मिता के प्रतीक स्वरूप संस्कृत भाषा का एक नया व्याकरण लिखने को आग्रह किया। हेमचन्द्र ने इसी क्षण बीडा ऊठा लिया, लेकिन साथ में यह भी मांगा कि वाग्देवी की नगरी से, अर्थात् काश्मीर से कुछ ग्रन्थ मंगवा लिया जाय तो यह कार्य सुचारु रूप से सम्पन्न किया जायेगा। इस बात का प्रमाण प्रभावक-चरितम् (सं. जिनविजयजी, १९४०) में संगृहीत किये गये "हेमचन्द्रसूरि-चरितम्" के निम्नोक्त श्लोक से मिलता है:–

पाणिनेर्लक्षणं वेदस्याङ्गमित्यत्र च द्विजाः। अवलेपादसूयन्ति कोऽर्थस्तैरुन्मनायितैः।।
२२/८३।।

यशो मम, तव ख्यातिः पुण्यं च मुनिनायकः। विश्वलोकोपकाराय कुरु व्याकरणं नवम्।।
२२/८४।।

इत्याकर्ण्याभ्यधात् सूरिर्हेमचन्द्रः सुधानिधिः। कार्येषु नः किलोक्तिर्वः स्मारणायैव केवलम्।।
२२/८५।

परं व्याकरणान्यष्टौ वर्तन्ते पुस्तकानि च। तेषां श्रीभारतीदेवीकोश एवास्तिता ध्रुवम्।।
२२/८६।।

आनाययतु काश्मीरदेशात् तानि स्वमानुषैः। महाराजो यथा सम्यक् शब्दशास्त्रं प्रतन्यते।।
२२/८७।।

इति तस्योक्तिमाकर्ण्य तत्क्षणादेव भूपतिः। प्रधानपुरुषान् प्रैषीद् वाग्देवी-देशमध्यतः।।
२२/८८।।

प्रवराख्यपुरे तत्र प्राप्तास्ते देवतां गिरम्। वन्दनादिभिरभ्यर्च्य तुष्टुवुः पाठनस्तवैः।।
२२/८९।।

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यहाँ स्पष्ट कहा गया हैं कि गुजरात में काश्मीर से (शारदा लिपि में लिखी) संस्कृत ग्रन्थों की पाण्डुलिपियाँ मंगवाई गई थी। यह ऐतिहासिक वास्तविकता है। अतः पाटण के पूर्वोक्त ग्रन्थभण्डारों में से अभिज्ञानशकुन्तल की जो पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राप्त हो रही है उसके पाठ का साम्य काश्मीरी शाकुन्तल के साथ दिख रहा है तो वह कोई आकस्मिक या आश्चर्यजनक बात नहीं है। अब ११वीं शती की गुजरात में प्रचलित हुई इस देवनागरी शाकुन्तल की पाठपरम्परा की उपयुक्तता अपने आप में कितनी महत्ता रखती है - यह स्वयं स्पष्ट हो जाता है। देवनागरी वाचना की आज उपलब्ध हो रही जितनी भी पाण्डुलिपियाँ है उसमें गुजरात के पाटण की पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट तीनों पाण्डुलिपियाँ में संचरित हुआ शाकुन्तल का पाठ प्राचीनतर सिद्ध होता है। दूसरा ध्यानार्ह बिन्दु यह भी है कि अभिज्ञानशकुन्तल का पाठ जो काश्मीर की शारदा लिपि में सुरक्षित रहा है वह बंगाली पाण्डुलिपियों में सुरक्षित रहे पाठ की अपेक्षा से अधिक प्राचीनतर एवं अधिक श्रद्धेय है। क्योंकि ब्राह्मीलिपि के विकासक्रम को देखा जाय तो प्रथमतया ८वीं शती में शारदालिपि का अवतार हुआ है और तत्पश्चात् ही १३वीं शती में बंगालीलिपि की वक्रोक्ति है। इस दृष्टि से सोचा जाय तो मूल ब्राह्मी लिपि में लिखे गये कालिदास के पाठ का प्रथम संचरण शारदा में ही हुआ होगा। अतः उस शारदा परम्परा का पाठ यदि गुजरात में हेमचन्द्राचार्य के समय से प्रचलित हुआ है और आज पूर्वोक्त तीन पाण्डुलिपिओं में मिल रहा हो तो, वही पाठ प्राचीनतर कहा जायेगा। बंगाली पाठ की अपेक्षा से शारदालिपि के पाण्डुलिपियों से अनुकृत हुआ और गुजरात की देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा में संचरित होनेवाला पाठ इस तरह से प्राचीनतर होने के कारण उपादेय सिद्ध होता है।

देवनागरी वाचना के शाकुन्तल का पाठसंचरण करनेवाली अन्य पाण्डुलिपियाँ

अब महाराष्ट्र एवं राजस्थान जैसे प्रदेशों से प्राप्त की गई (देवनागरी वाचना के) शाकुन्तल की तीन-चार पाण्डुलिपियाँ का परिचय प्राप्त करते है। जिसमें संचरित हुआ देवनागरी वाचना का पाठ अतिसंक्षिप्त किया गया पाठ है:-

१. भाण्डारकर ओरिएन्टल रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, पूणें से (क्रमांक - ४०९/१८८६-८७) एक प्रति प्राप्त की है। जिसमें २७ फोलियो है, ५२ पृष्ठ है। उस पर 'शाकुन्तल, टिप्पण के साथ' ऐसा नामकरण किया गया है। पाण्डुलिपि के मध्य भाग में मूल नाट्यकृति का पाठ है, और चौंपास के मार्जिन में एक टिप्पण भी लिखी गई है। अतः यह 'पञ्चपाठी' प्रकार की पाण्डुलिपि बनी है। सुवाच्य हस्ताक्षरों में वह लिखी गई है। उसकी पुष्पिका में लिखा है कि - वसुनवमुनिचन्द्रे वत्सरे पौषमासे शशिकरततपक्षे सप्तमीसौरियुक्ता सकल-भुवन-रम्ये पत्तने कामशत्रोरलिखद् अतिमनोज्ञं नाटकं कृष्णदासः।। श्रीमद्रामकृष्णाभ्यां नमः।। अर्थात् भगवान् शङ्कर, जो कामदेव के शत्रु है उनकी नगरी काशी में यह पाण्डुलिपि लिखी गई है। यह पाण्डुलिपि वो है जिसको श्री पी. एन. पाटणकर जी ने 'बी' ऐसे सांकेतिक नाम दिया है। अब इस हस्तलिखित प्रति से उदाहरण के रूप में कुछ वाक्य प्रस्तुत किये जाते है, जिसके आधार पर शाकुन्तल की देवनागरी लिपि में लिखित अन्य पाण्डुलिपियों के साथ परस्पर में तुलना कर सके।

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उक्ति	वाक्य	टिप्पणी
सूत्रधार	कालिदास-ग्रथित-वस्तुना अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-नामधेयेन नवेन नाटकेन उपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिः।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में सूत्रधार की उक्ति में कृति का नामनिर्देश नहीं है।
वैखानस	जन्म यस्य पुरोर्वंशे युक्तरूपमिदं तव। पुत्रमेवं गुणोपेतं चक्रवर्तिनमाप्नुहि।।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में ऐसा श्लोक नहीं है।
शकुन्तला	अनसूए, अहिणवकुसुमसूइय परिक्खदं मेव चलणं, कुरबअ साखापरिलग्नं च वल्कलं परिपालेधा मा, जावणं मोआवेमि। राजानमवलोकयन्ती सव्याजं विलम्ब्य सह सखीभ्यां निष्क्रांता	प्राकृतविवृति एवं प्राकृतछायाओं में इसी तरह का पाठ है। किन्तु पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में केवल रंगसूचना देनेवाला वाक्य ही है।
राजा	निवारितनिमेषाभिः ...।। (श्लोक), सखे परिहार्ये वस्तुनि पौरवाणां मनः प्रवर्तते। सुरयुवतिसंभवं ....।। (श्लोक)	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में ऐसा श्लोक है। (राघवभट्ट में पहला श्लोक हटाया गया है।)
करभक	आआमिणि चउत्थदिअहे पउत्तपालणो मे उववासो भविस्सदि।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में 'पुत्रपालना' ऐसा पाठभेद है।
तीसरा अंक	तीसरा अंक का पाठ विस्तृत नहीं है। (मृणालवलय पहनाना एवं मुखमारुत से शकु. की दृष्टि विशद करने के प्रसंग नहीं है।)	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में विस्तृत पाठ है।
चतुर्थांक	आरम्भ में शिष्य दो श्लोक (याति०- अन्तर्हिते०) बोलता है।	पाटण की पाण्डु. में चार श्लोक है।
विदूषक	अद्य खलु कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेन उपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिः ।	पाटण की पाण्डु. में पिंडबुद्धिना पाठ है और शारदा पाण्डु. में मृत्पिंडबुद्धिना है।

यह तुलना इस बात की ओर ईशारा दे रही है कि पाटण की पाण्डुलिपियों में पुरातन पाठ है। किन्तु भाण्डारकर ओरि. रिसर्च इन्स्टी. की प्रति (जिसका विनियोग श्री पी.एन. पाटणकर जी ने प्रधान रूप से किया है), का पाठ उत्तरवर्ती काल का है।।

२. डेक्कन कालेज, पूणें से एक प्रति प्राप्त की है। जिसमें ५९ पृष्ठ है और वह सातवें अङ्क के मध्य भाग से अपूर्ण है। परिणामतः उसमें न पुष्पिका मिलती है, न लेखक का नाम। उसका समय अज्ञात है, परन्तु यह बहुत पुरानी नहीं है। इस पाण्डुलिपि में शाकुन्तल का जो पाठ मिलता है वह राघवभट्ट के द्वारा स्वीकृत- (अतिसंक्षिप्त) पाठ से अपेक्षाकृत अधिक विस्तृत है। कुछ उदाहरण लेकर पाटण की प्रतियों से तथा (राघवभट्ट के) प्रचलित पाठ से उसकी तुलना करनी आवश्यक है:-

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शकुन्तला	अनसूए, अहिणवकुसुमसूइय परिक्खदं मेव चलणं, कुरबअ साखापरिलग्नं च वल्कलं परिपालेधा मा, जावणं मोआवेमि । राजानमवलोकयन्ती सव्याजं विलम्ब्य सह सखीभ्यां निष्क्रांता	प्राकृतविवृति एवं प्राकृतछायाओं में इसी तरह का पाठ है । किन्तु पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में केवल रंगसूचना देनेवाला वाक्य ही है ।
राजा	निवारितनिमेषाभिः ... ।। (श्लोक), सखे परिहार्ये वस्तुनि पौरवाणां मनः प्रवर्तते । सुरयुवतिसंभवं .... ।। (श्लोक)	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में ऐसा श्लोक है । (राघवभट्ट में पहला श्लोक हटाया गया है ।)
करभकं	आआमिणि चउत्थदिअहे पउत्तपालणो मे उववासो भविस्सदि ।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में 'पुत्रपालनो' ऐसा पाठभेद है ।
राजा	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में तीसरा अंक विस्तृत है, जो शारदा पाण्डुलिपि के समान है ।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में यह श्लोक है, बंगाली में भी है । राघवभट्ट में नहीं है ।
तृतीयांक	बंगाली जैसा अतिविस्तृत पाठ नहीं है। संक्षिप्त पाठ ही है ।	तृतीयांक के आरम्भ में दुष्यन्त की उक्ति में, अद्यापि नूनं हरकोपवह्निस्त्वयि० श्लोक है ।
शिष्य	४अंक में कर्कन्धूनां, पादन्यासं, याति, अन्तर्हिते - ४ श्लोक है ।	पाटण की पाण्डुलिपिओं में भी ४ श्लोक है ।
जानुक	किं खु शोभणे बम्हणे त्ति कलिअ रण्णा पडिगह दिण्णे ।	मागधी में रेफ का लकार नहीं हुआ है ।
विदूषक	परिहासविअप्पओ एसो ... मए मप्पिंडबुद्धिणा तह एव्व गहिदं ।	पाटण की पाण्डु. में पिंडबुद्धिना पाठ है और शारदा पाण्डु. में मृत्पिंडबुद्धिना है ।

यहाँ तौलनिक अभ्यास के लिये जो वाक्य प्रस्तुत किये है उससे ज्ञात होता है कि डेक्कन कालेज की इस प्रति का पाठ भी पाटण की प्राचीनतर पाण्डुलिपिओं के उत्तरवर्ती काल में एवं राघवभट्ट के पाठ की पुरोवर्ती काल में प्रचलित रहा पाठ हो सकता हैं।

३. महाराजा मानसिंह पुस्तक प्रकाश-शोध केन्द्र, जोधपुर से देवनागरी लिपि में लिखित एक प्रति (क्रमांक - ९२८) मिली है। जिसमें पत्र-संख्या २४ है। यह प्रति यद्यपि पूर्ण है, किन्तु उसमें लेखक का नाम नहीं है एवं पुष्पिका भी नहीं है। प्रथमाङ्क के अन्त में लिखा है कि -

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इति कविराजश्रीकालिदासकृतौ शाकुन्तले प्रथमोऽङ्कः।। इस प्रति का पाठ बहुशः राघवभट्ट के द्वारा स्वीकृत पाठ से साम्य रखता है। अर्थात् नाटक के मूल पाठ में कटौती हुई दिखती है, किन्तु राघवभट्ट के पाठ की तरह पूर्ण कटौती नहीं दिखती है। उदाहरण के माध्यम से इस स्थिति का परिचय करेंगे।

वक्ता	वाक्य	टिप्पणी
सूत्रधार	या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या, वहति विधिहूतं, या हविर्या च होत्री..........। ऐसा नान्दी श्लोक है।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में वहति क्रियापद के स्थान में पिबति ऐसा पाठभेद मिलता है।
सूत्रधार	अद्य खलु कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेन उपस्थातव्यम् अस्माभिः।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में भी सूत्रधार कृति का नामोल्लेख नहीं करता है, जो शारदा के अनुरूप है।
विदूषक	किं मोदअ खंडिआए, तेण हि सुगहीदो अअं जणो।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में गिहीदो भावः है। प्रचलित देवनागरी में जनः के स्थान में क्षणः पाठ है।
करभक	आआमिणी चउत्थ दिअहे पउत्तपारणो मे उपवासो भविस्सदि।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में पुत्रपारणो ऐसा पाठ चलता है।
राजा	निराकृतनिमेषाभिः .... नवामिन्दुकलां ...। श्लोक की कटौती हुई है।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में यह श्लोक है
राजा	आं ज्ञातम्, अद्यापि नूनं हरकोपवह्निस्त्वयि ..... कथमेवमुष्णः।। श्लोक है।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में यह श्लोक है
तृतीयांक	बंगाली की तरह अतिविस्तृत पाठ नहीं है।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में बंगाली जैसा विस्तार है।
चतुर्थांक	इसमें याति०, अन्तर्हिते० ऐसे दो ही श्लोक है।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में ४ श्लोक है
षष्ठांक में विदूषक	ण विसुमरामि, किंतु सव्वं कहिअ ... मए वि मन्दबुद्धिणा तएव गहिदं।	पाटण की प्रतिओं में मयावि पिंडबुद्धिणा पाठ है। शारदा पाण्डुलिपि में मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना पाठ

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यहाँ विदूषक की उक्ति रूप जो अन्तिम वाक्य है उसका तुलनात्मक अभ्यास से ज्ञात होता है कि पिंडबुद्धिना पाठ काश्मीरी परम्परा का है, जिसका अनुकरण पाटण की देवनागरी प्रतियों में दिखता है। लेकिन गुजरात की जैन परम्परा से बाहर/अन्यत्र देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों में मन्दबुद्धिना पाठ चलता रहा है। परन्तु काश्मीरी परम्परा से आया हुआ (पिंडबुद्धिना/मृत्पिंडबुद्धिना) पाठ राघवभट्ट द्वारा अनुसृत देवनागरी पाण्डुलिपियों की परम्परा में भी चल रहा है। अर्थात् सम्भव है कि काश्मीर की शारदा परम्परा का पाठ गुजरात के पाटण की पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित होने के बाद, राघवभट्ट जिस पाठपरम्परा का अनुसरण कर रहे है उन परम्परावालों ने उनके (काश्मीरी परम्परा के) पाठान्तरों का स्वीकार करते हुए, शाकुन्तल के पाठ में संक्षिप्तीकरण का कार्य किया हो। यह देवनागरी वाचना का अन्तिम (लघुतम) स्वरूप है, जिसको राघवभट्ट ने अपनी अर्थद्योतनिका टीका से विभूषित किया।

उपसंहारः

देवनागरी वाचना का अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल निर्धारित करना हो तो प्राचीनतमादि त्रिविध कालखण्ड में क्रमशः विकसित/परिवर्तित हुआ पाठ निश्चित करना आवश्यक है। उसमें गुजरात के पाटण से मिल रही (जैन) देवनागरी पाठपरम्परा की पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राचीनतर काल की है। क्योंकि इन पाण्डुलिपियों में (शाकुन्तल नाटक के) तीसरे अंक का जो पाठ संचरित हुआ है वह काश्मीर की शारदा पाण्डुलिपियों से बहुशः अनुकृत है। गुजरात की पाण्डुलिपियों पर शारदा पाण्डुलिपियों का प्रभाव विशेष रूप से हेमचन्द्राचार्य के समय से शूरु हुआ है। अतः देवनागरी वाचना के शाकुन्तल का प्राचीनतर स्वरूप निश्चित करने के लिये पाटण की पाण्डुलिपियाँ अनुपेक्ष्य है। एवमेव, काश्मीरी वाचना का पाठ निर्धारित करने के लिये शारदा पाण्डुलिपियों के पाठ के साथ साथ गुजरात की पूर्वोक्त तीन पाण्डुलिपियों का भी सहारा लेना आवश्यक है।

परिशिष्ट
शाकुन्तल के श्लोकों की सूची

क्रम	बंगाली	शारदा	ला.द.	पाटण-१	पाटण-२	राघवभट्ट
१	का कथा बाणसन्धाने०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२	जाने तपसो वीर्यम्०	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
३	अद्यापि नूनं हरकोपवह्निः०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
४	तव कुसुमशरत्वं ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
५	अनिशमपि मकरकेतुः ०	नास्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति

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६	वृथैव संकल्पशतै ०	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
७	संमीलन्ति न तावद् ०	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
८	शक्योरविन्दसुरभिः ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति
९	अभ्युन्नता पुरस्ताद् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति
१०	स्तन-न्यस्तोशीरं ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति
११	शशिकरविशदान्य ०	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
१२	क्षाक्षामकपोलम् आननम् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१३	पृष्टा जनेन समदुःख ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१४	स्मर एव तापहेतुर् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१५	अशिशिरतरैरन्तः ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१६	अयं स ते तिष्ठति ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१७	अयं स यस्मात् ०	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
१८	उन्नमितैकभ्रूलतम् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
१९	तुज्झ ण आणे हिअअं ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२०	तपति तनुगात्रि ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२१	संदष्टकुसुमशयनानि०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२२	इदमनन्यपरायणम् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२३	परिग्रहबहुत्वेपि ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२४	अपराधमिमं ततः ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
२५	किं शीकरैः क्लमविमर्दि०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२६	उत्सृज्य कुसुमशयनं ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२७	अप्यौत्सुक्ये महति ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
२८	गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन ०	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
२९	त्वं दूरमपि गच्छन्ती ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३०	अनिर्दयोपभोग्यस्य ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३१	मणिबन्धनगलितमिदम् ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३२	अनेन लीलाभरणेन ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति

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३३	पिपासाक्षामकण्ठेन ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
३४	हरकोपाग्निदग्धस्य ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३५	अयं स ते श्यामलता ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३६	चारुणा स्फुरितेन ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३७	इदमुपकृतिपक्षे ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
३८	मुहुरङ्गुलिसंवृता ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
३९	तस्याः पुष्पमयी ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
४०	रहःप्रत्यासत्तिम् ०	अस्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति
४१	सायंतने सवनकर्मणि ०	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
४२	अपरिक्षतकोमलस्य० - नवीन	नास्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति
४३	एते सद्यः प्रचितकुसुमा० - नवीन	नास्ति	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति
४४	न केवलं रूपेण बाला ० - नवीन	नास्ति	अस्ति	अस्ति	नास्ति	नास्ति

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6

Language and Social Class: Yesterday and Today

Ujjwala Jha

Both the terms language and identity have vast areas of application because there are many contexts in which both language and identity are discussed. Language is studied on at least four levels namely, phonology, morphology, syntax (both deep and surface) and vocabulary. Semantics is also an important aspect of language study[1]. Therefore, a language can be identified through these aspects. Apart from these, there are some more ways to identify a language. Language is ordinary, it is poetic, it is logical, it is mathematical, it is technical[2] and so on. Each of these has its own identity and as such, can identify its speaker to a great extent. A spoken form of language has a different identity. When the same is written, it wears a different garb altogether. Every field of knowledge, every aspect of culture, every aspect of human life has its own language and as such each of these languages has its own identity. On the other hand, all aspects of human life have their own identities and each of these has its own language. Thus, language and identity seem to be inseparable. So, language differs not only on the basis of its content but it also changes according to the social stratification, sex, geography, nation, ethnic groups etc[3].

To take an example, suppose, X is travelling in India. In his railway compartment there are three co-travellers. X starts talking about weather, the most neutral topic in which all have same interest (or disinterest!).

X : कितना अच्छा मौसम है।

a : हँ शोच में बडा ओच्छा लोग रोहा हाय।

b : हं सायद बरसा आएगा।

c : मुझे भी लगता हे कि बारिस आएगी।

All are talking in Hindi but their ways of speaking differ and 'X' understands that 'a' is a Bengali, 'b' is Oriya and 'c' is a Gujarati

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speaker. Language, thus, helps identify the region to which a speaker belongs. Second language of a person is inevitably influenced by his or her mother tongue. This helps listener pinpoint his identity provided the listener is aware of the different languages spoken in different provinces and the ways of speaking them. Prof. Higgins, the hero of the English classic, *My Fair Lady* has the confidence of placing the speaker within two miles in London! It also speaks of the fact that language changes every two miles! At least the accent and intonation do. So, such a study as it were, connects language with geography. People residing in the border areas know two languages and fluently speak them. West Bengal and Orissa, Karnataka and Maharashtra actually border regions of all states of India are good examples that Indians are aware of.

The same is true about the Dutch German frontier where people understand both the languages and also speak them fluently. Peter Trudgill speaks about the difficulty in identifying their language as either Dutch or German![4]

Of course, this discussion will take us to a different direction, which we do not wish to take up here. But this shows that the issue of language and identity has many dimensions and therefore, it is an interesting area for a socio-linguist.

In this paper, an attempt is made to look into the issue of language and social class. Many of us will, again, be reminded of the English classic *My Fair Lady* which had this very theme. The hero, Prof. Higgins had a philosophy that if language is properly cultivated, the class distinction will be wiped off from the society.

For the sake of convenience let us divide our discussion into three parts:

i. Modern way of looking at the issue
ii. Ancient thought on the issue and
iii. Observations.

i. Modern way of looking at the issue

Our topic proper i.e. 'Language and social class' concerns itself more with the standard form of language that the elite class of a society speaks and the dilect of the same that some other sections of a society speak.

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So far as the English language is concerned, the sentence like, 'I did it yesterday' or 'he hasn't got it' belong, as it were, to the standard form of English which is known as the BBC English or the Oxford English and this is the language that the elite class speaks whereas the sentences like, 'I done it yesterday' and 'he ain't got it' belong to the other variety, namely, some dilect of English which the lower working class speaks.

Again to quote Peter Trudgill, the author of socio-linguistics: *An Introduction*,

> "Language as a social phenomenon is closely tied up with the social structure and value systems of society. Different dialects and accents are evaluated in different ways. Standard English, for example, has much more status and prestige than any other English dilect."[5] He further points to the notions of a common man: "In fact the 'conventional wisdom' of most English speaking community goes further than this. So statusful are standard English and the prestige accents that they are widely considered to be, 'correct', 'beautiful', 'nice', 'pure' and so on. Other non-standard non-prestige varieties are often held to be 'wrong', 'ugly', 'corrupt' or 'lazy'.

Actually, what is standard English? Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety, which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broad casts and other similar situations.

One feels, the same is true about any language of the Globe which is spoken at some place or the other with a definite written grammar of its own. There are different aspects of the relationship between language and social class in which a linguist is interested. The language of different classes differs not only on the levels of pronunciation and accent, but also on the levels of grammar and even the other aspects of language as well. For studying them William Labov the author of '*The Social Stratification of English in New York*', brought the sociological methods such as random sampling to linguistics. He also developed speech from people and also developed methods for the

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quantitative measurements of linguistic data. The methods developed by him proved to be very significant for the study of social class dilects and accents.[6]

The value of all these is that it enhances the sensitivity of a linguist to correlations between social class and standard or local linguistic forms. It tells us a little about the social structure of the two communities, and suggests that, the division of society into two main class groups 'middle class' and 'working class' is of some validity and importance since the social barrier is clearly reflected in language.

But finally it is revealed that social class dilects like regional dilects are not distinct entities. They merge into each other to form a continuam.

ii. Ancient thought on the issue

A sage was meditating under a banyan tree. Suddenly there was some noise and then came a sentence, "Hey you bearded savage! Did you see one thief running?" The sage neither opened his eyes nor answered. After sometime again someone came and asked: "Sir, did you see someone running? He was a thief Sir!" The sage continued to meditate without an answer. Again after some time he heard a very soft and well modulated voice: "Your holiness, could you notice someone running? I am sorry to disturb you this way." Now the sage opened his eyes and replied:, "O king, first your soldier came, then came your minister and now your majesty, you are the third person to ask me the same question. I have not seen anyone." The king asked, "how could your holiness identify my soldier and minister?"

"Their language spoke for them", answered the sage, "It was the way they talked that revealed their identity. And your majesty, your extremely polite expression introduced me to the king of this land!"

From this story one can draw some conclusions:

i. Different strata of the society speak different languages,

ii. One can identify the social class of a speaker with closed eyes and this happens because,

iii. Social class and language are closely connected.

So, it is language which is, perhaps, the most powerful means to identify a person. In another story the blue jackal was identified by the fellow - animals through his crying and then had to face the

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consequences.

When one looks into Sanskrit shastric texts, one finds some material to think about. Before we look into it, we may remember that the case of Sanskrit language is a different one because, the point, when exactly was it a spoken language and when it changed its status to the language of the elite class or the language of knowledge is not a certainly decided one.[7] But what is available to us today is the vast literature in this language touching upon almost all aspects of human life.[8] In this, philosophical literature forms a considerable portion.[9]

A unique feature of Sanskrit literature and of Indian tradition as a whole is the distinction that is maintained between the Vedic and the classical or worldly Sanskrit as well as the distinction maintained between the Vedic and worldly rituals.

This fact raises many important issues.

The ritual culture, though obsolete today, has contributed to many meaningful discussions regarding both the types of language mentioned before. As 'Vedic ritual' was superior to the worldly affairs in all respects, the language to be used in the same had also to be so. As a consequence, many interesting issues were raised and discussed regarding language and its usage. Let us look into some of them here: In the Mīmāṃsā system[10] the discussion about words used in different classes of the society occurs in two contexts.[11]

The first one,[12] is the situation where different meanings of the same words are in vogue in two different classes of the society.

The question is: which of the meanings is acceptable in the Vedic ritual context? The meaning accepted by the lower class or the one that was accepted by the higher class? The terms for lower and the higher classes are mleccha[13] and śiṣṭa[14] or abhiyukta respectively. In my opinion, one may take them to be uneducated and educated again respectively.

Some words like yava, varāha[15] etc. are taken as examples.

The precise question regarding them is: As these words are used to denote two different meanings by two classes, whether both the meanings are acceptable or otherwise?

The answer is that the meanings in vogue in the śiṣṭa i.e. the learned

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class should be accepted as standard meanings. The reason behind this as given in the system is that the learned class inherited the tradition of regular studies of the Vedas and Grammar etc. and hence, the meaning in which they use the word is more acceptable.

Thus, the word yava stands for dīrghasuka grains as accepted by śiṣṭas and not for priyaṅgu as in vogue in the mleccha community. So also the word varāha stands for sukara and not for a black bird as the mlecchas accept.

Another situation is peculiar.[16] There are certain words in both the groups of people, abhiyuktas and mlecchas. But abhiyuktas are unaware of the meanings of them whereas mlecchas use them regularly and know the meanings of these words. The examples are: pika, nema, tamarasa etc.

Here the question is that what should be the meanings of these words for the abhiyuktas? Should they derive some meanings of these words afresh on the basis of grammar and the science of etymology or they should accept the meanings of them as already derived by the mlecchas? And the problem is resolved by accepting the meanings of mlecchas as standard!

The reason behind this stand is that it is logically simple to do so. When the lower class already has the usage of the words with reference to some meanings it will be cumborsome to again derive some meanings of them. This shows that language used prevails over language derived! (The Sanskrit terms are kḷpta and kalpya.) Thus, the word pika stands for kokila i.e. cuckoo, nema stands for ardha i.e. half and tamarasa stands for kamala i.e. lotus.

There is one more situation[17] in which this discussion occurs and that is in the context of the limitations of grammar. The issue is whether grammar can control the usage of language? It is seen that there is one standard form of a word such as gauḥ[18] (cow) and it has many non-standard or dialectal forms such as gāvi, goṇi, goptā, gopotalikā etc. Though the learned always use the standard form, the illiterates freely use the other forms which are, as it were, sub-standard and do achieve effective communication. There is no lacuna in it. Thus, the point seems to be that Grammar has no control over language and its

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usage. Grammar can describe a language but it has no prescriptive function. However, the practice seems to be to develop a standard form over and above a dialectal form. The result is that the standard form alone can be used in the ritual context, which is mandatory for accomplishing the desired result. This can be observed even today. In different formal contexts such as parliament discourses or radio talks standard forms are preferred over dialectal ones.

iii. Observations

The relation between language and social class is an interesting area of socio-linguistics. One thinks, that this area has different dimensions in different societies and also needs to be studied differently with reference to different structures and textures of stratifications in different societies. For example, the criteria may differ in the countries like India and those in Europe, etc.

Actually, the concept of social class itself is a controversial one from the sociological point of view! Nevertheless, the real class-distinction, in my opinion, universally applicable to any society should be only two-fold: An educated class and the non-educated one.

This distinction, actually, can be nullified (to a large extent, at least) if education reaches all strata of the society in the same degree. To remember *My Fair Lady* again, if the philosophy of Professor Higgins comes true then in his words, the class-distinctions will become antique!

But..... is it really plausible?

To say something about what we discussed in the foregoing pages, the case of 'Sanskrit language' is a very different one and hence the modern methodology may hardly be applicable in this case. Nevertheless, one can study Sanskrit literature to derive some insight, if possible, for our modern studies of linguistics and also to see what kind of thinking has gone in in the age-old literature available to us.

The ancient style of borrowing the words and meanings from the other strata of the society to fill the gap in is logically simple on one hand and sociologically healthy on the other.

As per linguistics, no language should be considered sub-standard

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because it serves the purpose of being a sound instrument of communication. This thought is found in the Sanskrit literature as early as more than two millennia before.

One is reminded of Vātsyāyana, the commentator of the *Nyāyasūtra*, belonging to the second cent. A.D. who said that any of the three social classes namely, ṛṣi, ārya and mleccha i.e. the sage, the resident of Āryāvarta and an outsider are at par so far as the validity of the information given by them is concerned. All the three are reliable speakers irrespective of the form of language they speak. Thus, the linguistic thought of yesterday seems to have some meeting points even today.

Notes

1. Bloomfield' s *Language*, 1993
2. Vide, Peter Trudgill's *Socio Linguistics: An Introduction*, Penguin Books, 1974.
3. For a study from a different angle see: "*Intentionality of Language and Pūrvamīmāṃsā*" by Ujjwala Jha, *Intentionality and Verbal Understanding* Ed.V. N. Jha, Indian Book Centre, New Delhi, 2003, pp.23-32.
4. *Socio Linguistics: An Introduction*, p.15.
5. ibid , p.19-20
6. ibid , p.39-40
7. But there always were the elite class people for whom Sanskrit was the second language and even today there are people who claim that Sanskrit is their second language.
8. The four Vedas, the Brāhmaṇa texts, Āraṇyaka texts, Upaniṣads, the six limbs of the Veda, the two epics namely the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇa literature, the Dharmaśāstra literature beginning from the Dharmasūtras of early times to the Nibandha literature of the 19th cent. A. D., the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy, the three heterodox systems, the great Poetries, the Campū literature having both the verse and the prose form, the great prosaic literature, the great dramas and the great mahākāvyas etc. etc. go by the name Sanskrit literature.
9. The six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy are: Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Uttaramīmāṃsā and the three heterodox systems are: the Buddhist, the Jaina and the Cārvāka systems.
10. Mīmāṃsā stands for Pūrvamīmāṃsā, which is the science of Sentence-interpretation. The system has contributed enormously to the area of discourse-analysis, which is a modern domain of knowledge.
11. This discussion occurs in the first chapter of the *Mīmāṃsādarśana*.
12. Vide the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* I.3.8-9
13. म्लेच्छा: पक्षिणां पोषणे बन्धने च अभियुक्ततरा:। भाष्य. 1.3.5.10
    येषां दर्शनमात्रेऽपि वेद एव न पठ्यते। संभाषाऽपि च न म्लेच्छै: सहार्यावर्तवासिनाम्। तत्र तेषु प्रसिद्धोऽर्थ: कथमार्यै: प्रतीयताम्। (इदं पूर्वपक्षे) वार्तिकम् 1.3.5.10
    म्लेच्छेभ्य: अन्त्यजनपदवासिभ्य: आर्यावर्तनिवासिनां समीचीनतर: आचारो भवति। भाष्यं 2.3.2.3

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म्लेच्छादीनां दुर्गमदेशव्यवस्थितानां वेदव्यवहाराभावः। ऋजुविमला p. 155

म्लेच्छप्रसिद्धोऽर्थः पिकनेमादिशब्दानां ग्राह्यः। न तु निगमनिरुक्तादिना कल्पनीयः। 1.3.5.10

14. शिष्टाः यः शास्त्रस्थानां प्रयोगविषयः सः शब्दार्थः। के शास्त्रस्थाः शिष्टाः। तेषामविच्छिन्ना स्मृतिः शब्देषु वेदेषु च । Vide *JS* 1.3.4.9 and comm. thereon.

अभियुक्त-अभियुक्ता हि अर्थिनो भवन्ति। अभियुक्ताः यं शब्दमुपदिशन्ति एष एव साधुः अन्यः असाधुरित्यवगन्तव्यम्।

15. The sub-chapter is named as *yavavarāhādhikaraṇa.* This issue is discussed in the *yavavarāhādhikaraṇa* of the *Mīmāṃsādarśana* vide. comm. on *JS.* I.3.6

16. This is discussed under the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I.3.10. vide. पिकनेमाधिकरण in मीमांसादर्शन. *JS.* I.3.6

17. Vide the व्याकरणाधिकरण in मीमांसादर्शन JS. I.3.9

18. ibid.

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7

Kerala Temple Priests

N. P. Unni

Though it is difficult to ascertain the period of the introduction of Tantra in Kerala, it can be definitely stated the Tāntrika rituals are closely connected with the temples of Kerala. According to tradition, sage Paraśurāma regained the land of Kerala from the sea throwing his battle axe. He is further credited with the establishment of 108 temples in this region. He is supposed to have brought Brāhmins from other parts of India and engaged them to perform rituals in these shrines. The *Keralamāhātmya* purported to be a legendary history of Kerala maintains that God Viṣṇu instructed Paraśurāma to establish numerous temples all over the region and to install different deities in them. Temples of Durgā were located on sea-shores while those of Śāstā were established in hilly regions. According to the *Keralotpatti*, the sage is credited with the establishment of 4448 temples out of which 108 belonged to Goddess Durgā.

Another version of the *Keralamāhātmya* in Sanskrit containing more than 2300 stanzas and a hundred chapters states that Viṣṇu asked sage Paraśurāma to establish 24000 shrines in which 33 deities are to be installed. The sage did accordingly and made arrangements for the worship engaging twelve Tantrins of great repute. The following stanzas are interesting in this connection.

ब्राह्मणैर्वेदविद्भिष्टा धर्मिष्ठैस्तन्त्रपारगैः।
पूजां प्रत्यहमस्माकं कारय त्वं भृगूत्तम।।
उत्तरादीन् द्विजानत्र गोदावर्युपसेवितान्।
कल्पयामास देवानां पूजार्थं भृगुसत्तमः।।
तन्त्रिणो द्वादश श्रेष्ठान् प्रतिष्ठार्थमकल्पयत्।
चतुर्विंशसहस्रं च देवालयमकल्पयत्।।

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Thus it may be seen that sage Paraśurāma is credited with the establishment of numerous temples throughout the length and breadth of Kerala.

In consonance with the number of temples there are a host of different deities found installed in the shrines of the region. Most popular among the deities are Śiva, Viṣṇu, Bhadrakālī, Durgā, Gaṇapati, Subramaṇya, Sarasvatī, Śāstā, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Śrīrāma, Kṛṣṇa, Narasimha and Pārvati. Other deities include Lakṣmaṇa, Baladeva, Varāha, Hanumān, Dhanvantari, Sūryanārāyaṇa, Paraśurāma, Kubera and Vedavyāsa. Some of these deities are conceived as having different aspects. For instance, Śiva is conceived as having the aspects of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Ardhanārīśvara, Kirātarudra, Somaskanda, Candraśekhara, Vṛṣārūḍha, Gaṅgādhara, Tripurāntaka, Mṛtyuñjaya, Kālāntaka, Aghora and other forms numbering over fifty. This is the case with the deities like Viṣṇu and Devī, both of whom are conceived in their numerous divergent aspects.

Kerala temples have Vaidika and non-āgamic ritual performances. Its tradition is Vedic and non-āgamic laying stress on sanctity, simplicity, lack of any esoteric overtones and a prevailing naturalism that marked the worship and divinities in the temple. Bath and anti-pollution are considered the prime requisites conducive to sanctity and one shall enter the temple only after cleaning himself or herself from the least trace of pollution and after bath. An air of fervid piety and scrupulous enforcement of sanctity prevails in the inner realms of the temple. Unlike the temples in other parts of India, the main temple proper in Kerala is open for visit or worship only from its exterior and not in the interior. This precious privilege is given only to the initiated clergy in charge of daily worship who are enforced celebates during the term of their office. Kerala is the most outstanding example in the whole country where conservatism and taboo regarding zones of permitted entry in a temple are most strictly enforced. Yet another peculiarity of the Kerala temple worship mode, lies in one's freedom from manifold rituals, direct approach to divinity by simple chant and gesture routine and absence of utsavaberas deputizing for the mūlavigraha, although the concept of bhogaśakti is present. It thus attaches supreme importance to mūlavigraha

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and does not accept the ramification of the arca-tradition. The offering of sandal paste for both Viṣṇu and Śiva and the distribution of bilva (wood apple) and tulasi (sacred hemp) leaves indicate the natural character of the offerings unlike ash or vibhūti in vogue in Śiva temples of Tamilnadu and Karnataka.

Almost every major temple in Kerala has a high priest called Tantri who enjoys the hereditary authority on matters of ritual in the temple. There are several families having these rights and Taraṇanallūr is the foremost among them. Since a family of Tantrins enjoys rights over several temples it is difficult to attend each temple and hence a Tantrin delegates his powers to other trained Brāhmins who are to perform the function of the chief priest. These delegates are called Nampis whose right is fixed for a specific period. While the members of the family of Tantrins attend to the rituals on special occasions like festivals, the Nampis perform the daily routines. Even though other assistants are provided only the Nampi should perform the rituals called pūjā.

The story goes that Paraśurāma called the Brāhmin from the other side of the river and asked him to cross over the river which was flooded. The Brāhmin, a devotee of Viṣṇu, meditated upon the Lord of fire and threw some sticks over the flood to form a bridge and easily crossed over to the astonishment of the sage. Before this the sage has already brought six Brāhmins from Kumbhakonam after ascertaining their proficiency in Mantraśāstra.

It may be noted that in the Tamilnadu region a set of eligible persons are enjoined to perform rituals in temples. Several priests are present in the temple at the same time and any one of them is free to perform the pūjā as required by the devotee. Sometimes even the devotee is permitted to offer pūjā to his liking. Further there the priest utters the mantras aloud so that all could hear it. But Kerala priests just mutter the mantras inaudibly and show various gestures with meticulous care following the prescriptions of the manuals. In other words, while the pūjā is just cursory in other regions, in Kerala only a trained priest can perform it. Further, he alone could touch the idol in the sanctum sanctorum. On the other hand if anybody else touches the idol it calls for various expiatory ceremonies as if it is polluted. There are two kinds

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of idols in major temples of Kerala, viz., Acala-that which cannot be moved and Cala that which could be taken out. The first is fixed on the pedestal permanently and it is usually made of granite or sometimes made of a special kind of mortar called Kaṭuśarkarayoga over which water could not be poured. The movable idols are made of metals. The one used on the occasion of Śrībali, the one on which Abhiṣeka is performed and sandal paste applied and the one taken out for processions inside the shrine are movable idols. The Acala idols are made as standing on the pedestal, sitting on the Pīṭha and as reposing as in bed. In certain temples Tāntrika diagrams like Śrīcakra etc., are conceived as deities for worship. Sometimes mere weapons of deities like Śūla (trident) and Khaḍga (sword) are placed as idols for performing pūjā.

The essential qualifications and duties of these categories of priests are different and they are briefly described below[1].

1. Mel-śānti (Chief Priest)

Mel-śānti is responsible for the conduct of daily pūjās (nitya-nidāna) apart from helping the Tantri if required, in special rites. Therefore he should have thorough knowledge on the various aspects of the pūjā system like daily pūjās, navakam, pañca-gavya, abhiṣeka-mantras and procedure for Śrībali for each deity besides having preliminary knowledge about the personal purificatory observances of priest like deha-śuddhi, śaṅka-purāṇa, prāṇāyāma etc. He should also be the quite familiar with the mudrās to be shown at various occasions of pūjā which can be done only with practice. Another quality which the Mel-śānti must possess is the knowledge about the intricacies of śuddhi and aśuddhi (pollution) which have been briefly narrated in the Tantra works. Further he has to lead a ritualistic life as vitality of the deity is related to his knowledge, sincerity and dedication. The duties of Mel-śānti can be summarized as shown below:

(i) Ensuring cleanliness and sanctity of the garbhagṛha besides observing personal cleanliness, wearing of ritualistic dress etc.

(ii) Performing pūjā as per Vedic or Tāntric system according to the custom of the temple, with full knowledge of the saṅkalpa of the deity installed there. The details of saṅkalpa of the deity and details of pūjā fixed at the time of pratiṣṭhā (installation) or punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā (re-

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installation) are to be obtained from the tāntric or in his absence from the ūrālar or by conducting Deva-praśna.

(iii) Conducting pūjā at specified timings as per the custom fixed at the time of pratiṣṭhā of the idol; these timings should not be changed for the convenience of anyone.

(iv) Keeping under safe custody all ornaments, utensils etc., meant for daily use.

(v) Assisting Tantri in all special and expiatory rites.

(vi) Training a qualified and trust-worthy kīzh-śānti for any emergency in case he has to keep away from the temple due to pollution, as a result of death in the family or due to any other unforeseen circumstances like sickness, marriage etc.

(vii) Reporting to the authorities of any damage to the idol, pīṭham, ṣaḍādhāra leak in the roof or any other aśuddhi for immediate rectification and for conducting purificatory rites.

Though the above are the general guidelines, in each temple the duties vary depending on the status of the temple, number of employees etc.; apart from the requirements for special and expiatory rites. In ritualistic matters his responsibility and status are more than that of the Manager or Executive officer of the temple.

II. Kīzh-śāntis (Junior Priests)

In small temples there may be no kīzh-śāntikkārs. Whenever they are appointed they have some special duties and responsibilities as enumerated below, depending on customs, manners and system of pūjās in the temple.

(i) Preparing nivedya, ensuring its quality and measure and taking it to the garbhagṛha at specified timings of offering following the rituals.

(ii) Helping the Tantri Mel-śānti in the rites of temple i.e.; in navakam laying of padma, preparation of pañca-gavya and making arrangements for the homa etc.

(iii) Carrying the bali-vigraha of the deity for Śrī-bali, Śrībhūta-bali, Utsava-bali etc., either over his own head or taking it in procession over the head of an elephant, in temple car (ratha) etc.

(iv) Distributing prasāda (remnant of the offerings of the deity) like sandal paste, holy water tīrtha, nivedya etc.; to the devotees.

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(v) Officiating as Mel-śānti, if qualified to hold the post and is acceptable to Mel-śānti.

(vi) Ensuring safe custody of utensils and other entrusted to him at Tiṭappalli.

(vii) Keeping Tiṭappalli always very neat and tidy.

(viii) Ensuring punctuality in attendance as specified in the rules of the temple and

(ix) Ensuring sanctity of Tiṭappalli and other prāsādas.

All these indicate that kīzh-śānti has also a pivotal role in priesthood.

In the case of some of the famous temples, the chief-priest is not permitted to go out of the temple complex during his tenure. The members of his family may visit him, but not live with him. This custom is known as Purappeḍāśānti. In certain cases the priest-hood of some temples are given to the family of a Tantrin as hereditary for a fixed remuneration. This right of the family is refined to as Kārānmā which applies to other temple servants as well.

The above mentioned category of priests-Melśānti and Kīzhśānti are to look after the daily rituals in temples. But there will be a Tantriṇ who has the authority to perform worship on special occasions like festivals, purifications etc. Each temple has a Tantrin who has the hereditary right to perform these functions. It is only with his permission that a priest could enter the sanctum when appointed first.

According to traditions, sage Paraśurāma created Kerala out of the western ocean which needed at the spot where his battle axe fell. This traditional story is even supported by the references of Kālidāsa. After Brahmanising the region and causing to establish several temples, the sage conferred the supreme priesthood on a family known as Taraṇanallūr whose successors are enjoying the right even now. In addition he fixed twelve more Brahmin families to hold hereditary rights in Kerala temples. All thus is mentioned in *Keralamāhātmya*[2]

"tantriṇo dvādaśa śreṣṭhān
pratiṣṭhārthamakalpayat."

Since there are many families holding such rights we could only name some of them. The families and the members are:

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"Maṇalikkara Poṭṭi, Kūkkara Poṭṭi, Kuḷakkaṭappaṇḍārattil, Tāzhaman Poṭṭi, Kuzhikkāṭṭu Bhaṭṭatiri, Parambūr Bhaṭṭatiri, Kaṭiyakkol Nampūtiri, Manayattāṭṭu Nampūtiri, Puliyannūr Nampūtiri, Eṭappalli Nampūtiri, Kainikkara Nampūtiri, Vempiliyattu Nampūtiri, Kūttālakkāth Nampūtiri, Maṭṭappilli Nampūtiri (often referred to with a prefix 'Bhadrakāli') Kunnattu Bhaṭṭatiri, Cennās Nampūtirippāṭu (several families in several localities), Kallūr Nampūtirippāṭu, Kāṭṭumāṭassu Nampūtiri, Pāmpum Mekkāṭṭu Nampūtiri, Aṇṭalāṭi Nampūtirippāṭu, Śrīdharañceṭattu Nampūtiri, Kāmprattu Nampūtiri and Poṭayur Nampūtirippāṭu." These 23 families are among the prominent families[3].

V. Rājarājavarma Rāja[4] dealing with Brahminical authorities mentions 6 families of Vaidikas recognized by the royalties as Perumpaṭappu, Cerumukku, Kaimukku, Panthal, Kalliṅṅāṭu and Taikkāṭu. It is pointed out that the Vaidikas of Talipparambu are called Poṭavar. Of the four families Naṭuvam and Eruvaśśeri are famous. It is after the Poṭavar their treatise Kriyādīpika is variously referred to as Poṭavar Bhāṣā, Puṭayūr Bhāṣā, etc[5]. Among the family of Tantrins, the historian mentions only the most important names- "Tarananallūr; Bhadrakāli Mattappilli, Cennās, Puliyannūr, Kāṭṭumāṭam, Kuzhikkāṭṭu and Tāzhamaṇṇu."

If a member of a family is not in a position to attend his duties, he usually deputes some other qualified person.

Sometimes a traditional family of a Tantrins is seen split up into several sub-families and the members of the same are seen sharing ritualistic duties of the temple to which they are attached. Thus Kuzhikkāṭṭu family attached to the Śrīvallabha temple got the right directly from sage Paraśurāma. It is said that their original family was in the Cola country from where they moved first in Northern Malabar and later to Iriñjālakkuṭa. Of the families which came to settle in Tiruvalla, Kuzhikkāṭṭu was a prominent one. They split up into several houses and each of them added the suffix "Kuzhikkāṭṭu to their house name. The houses thus separated or expanded from the Kuzhikkāṭṭu family are known as Tuṇḍiyil, Ceruvvalli Coṇāṭṭu, Tekkeṭathu, Vaṭakkeṭathu, Āṭṭupurattu, Māmpuzha, Memana etc. In Iriñjālakkuṭa

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village remained houses like Kuṇḍūr Kuzhikkāṭṭu and Marattur Kuzhikkāṭṭu[6].

Notes

1. S. Jayasankar, *Temples of Kerala*, Directorate of census operations, Kerala, 1977, pp. 251-52.
2. E.V. Raman Namputhiri, op.cit., pp.80-81 gives a list of 23 families.
3. Cerumukku Vaidikan Vasudevan Namputiri has given the same list of families in his introduction to '*Saparivāram Pūjakal*', Pañcāṅgam Press, Kunnamkulam, ME 1174/AD. 1999 (VIII edn.)
4. KSSC. II, pp.112-113.
5. See *Kriyādīpikā* (Puṭayūr bhāṣā), Pañcāṅgam Press, Kunnamkulam, (III edn.) 1175 ME
6. P. Unnikrishnan Nair, *Śrīvallabhamahākṣetracaritam*, Tiruvalla, 1987

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8

Mental Illusion (Mānasa-vibhrama)

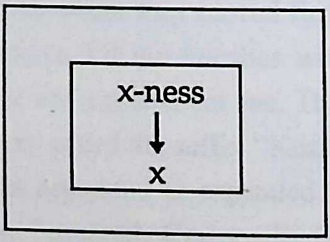
V. N. Jha

0.0 In this paper an attempt is made to reflect on the variety of erroneous perceptual cognition called mānasa-vibhrama (mental Illusion).

1.0 A cognition can be perceptual (pratyakṣa), inferential (anumiti) analogical (upamiti) and verbal (śābda-bodha). A perceptual cognition can be true (pramā) or false (apramā). On normal condition a perceptual cognition arises when the senses come in contact with the objects. When eyes get connected with a flower, the perceptual cognition of flower arises; when the tongue comes in touch with taste, the perception of taste arises; when the nose gets connected with smell, the perception of smell arises; when ears are connected with sound, the perception of sound is produced and when the faculty of touch is connected with 'touch', the perception of 'touch' arises. These are the five types of perceptual cognitions produced by five external senses. The sixth sense is the mind. When mind is connected with 'joy' the perception of joy occurs.

The external sense organs generate the perception of external world and the internal sense organ called mind generates awareness about the internal world such as happiness, unhappiness, desire etc. etc.

2.0 When the perception is true we know 'x' as 'x' and when the perception is false we know either 'x' as 'y' or 'y' as 'x'. When we know 'x' as 'x' the form of the knowledge can be represented as follows:



This is 'x'

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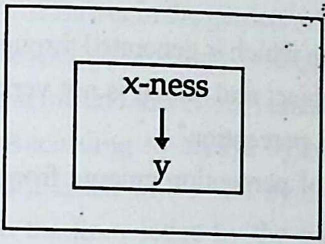
But in the case of a false knowledge, the cognition will appear like the following:



This is 'x'

In the case of a false cognition, thus, 'y' appears as 'x'.

3.0 In both the cases, however, the perceptual cognition has arisen only after the sense organ has come in contact with either 'x' or 'y'. For a true perceptual cognition to arise, something (x or y) is very much required, with which the contact of the sense organs will be established.

In the case of perceptual error or false perceptual cognition, generally it is observed that 'x' is mistaken as 'y'. But sometimes even without the physical contact with 'x'or. 'y', the perceiver believes that he is observing 'x' or 'y'. Such perception is called 'mānasa-vibhrama'. This seems to be comparable to the idea of hallucination.

Vikipedia defines hallucination as follows:

"A hallucination, in the broadest sense of the word, is a perception in the absence of a stimulus. In a stricter sense, hallucinations are defined as perception in a conscious or awaken state in the absence of external stimuli which have qualities of real perception, in that they are vivid, substantial and located in external objective space".

The definition of hallucination in the stricter sense implies the following:

a. Hallucination is not a dream-perception
b. It is not mistaking 'x' as 'y'
c. It is not an imagery

Hallucination is not a dream because it is seen in awaken state; it is not an illusion either, because there is no stimulus (x or y) present, and it is not even imagery since 'x' or 'y' is felt as being present there.

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4.0 Now let us turn towards classical Indian analysis.

Gautama, the author of the *Nyāyasūtra* defines 'perception' as follows:

'A definite cognition which is generated through the contact between a sense organ and its object and which is not verbalisable and which is not erroneous is called perception'.[1]

Following features of perception emerge from this definition:

i. It is a product.

ii. It is produced through a process (pramāṇa).

iii. It comes into being after the sense organ comes in contact with its object.

iv. It occurs when the object of perception is present.

v. It is different from doubt.

vi. It is different from illusion.

5.0 The Nyāya system of thought has accepted five external sense organs and one internal sense organ to perceive the external as well as the internal worlds. The perceiver perceives the external world through eyes, tongue, ears, nose and skin and the internal world like cognition, desire, happiness, unhappiness etc. is perceived by mind (= the internal sense organ).

As a matter of fact mind is active in perceiving both, the external as well as the internal world. The perceiver (self) is connected with the mind (the internal sense organ); the mind is connected with the external sense organ and the external sense organ is connected with the object and through this process what emerges is the perceptual cognition of the external world like red flower in the garden, taste of fruit, smell of a drum. Here mind is the connecting link between the perceiver and the perceived.

But when we perceive the internal world such as 'cognition', the external senses are not active and still we have awareness of a cognition and we verbalise this fact by saying 'I have knowledge'.

This is an awareness and it is called 'mental perception', because this perception is generated by mind without the help of external sense organs. For a mental perception to arise, it is not necessary that the object of mental perception should be present near the perceiver. Mental

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perception is not the direct perception of external object. When I say that 'I have knowledge of flower in the garden' it means I am aware that 'I have knowledge of flower in the garden'. Awareness is knowledge of knowledge. But 'knowledge' does not exist outside me like the flower in the garden; it exists in me and therefore, I am aware of that knowledge which exists in me. According to Nyāya system 'knowledge' is the quality of the self and it exists in the self by the relation of inherence and mind is related to the knowledge by the contact called saṃyukta-samavāya (contact-cum-inherence).[2]

6.0 Whatever we have discussed so far is the form and the process of normal perception or perceptual cognition. But we have also noted that there are true cognitions and there can be false cognition. In a true cognition 'x' appears as 'x' and it follows the process as described above. If 'x' is external the process of the perception of the external world come to operate and if x is an element of our internal world the process of perception of external world will come to play.

But sometimes this process gets affected by a number of factors which affect the resultant perception. May be, sometimes the sense organs may be defective; sometimes the objects of senses may not be at an expected distance; sometimes the objects themselves may carry some disturbing factors; sometimes all auxiliary factors of a true perception may not be present; sometimes the mental state of the perceiver may not be normal; in this way because of such factors, the resultant perceptual cognition gets affected and we encounter perceptual error. We also dream and in a dream we perceive. So there is dream perception too.

Sometimes we see something while half asleep. All these and the like are not proper perceptual cognitions. Let us call these 'false perception'.

7.0 When we start catagorizing the false perception we find that mostly they fall under a pattern namely 'x is perceived as y'.

When we further analyse perceptual errors we find that some of them may be called 'doubt' and some may be called 'illusion'.

In a doubt 'whether it is 'x' or 'y', we encounter two opposing properties (viruddha-dharma) in one locus. In 'illusion' on the other hand, 'x' is identified as 'y' by mistake.

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At night, in the absence of sufficient light, sometimes one fails to decide whether the object in front of him is 'a man or a pillar'. This will be an example of 'doubt'. Here, 'manness' and 'pillarness' have appeared in our cognition. These two properties cannot reside in one locus and hence they are mutually opposing each other.

But when one mistakes a rope to be a snake or a snake to be a rope in the absence of sufficient light he or she has identified rope and snake. This is an example of illusion.[3]

Indian philosophical traditions offer another example for 'illusion'. When in a desert in the scorching sun one observes 'water', Indian philosophers explain it as another case of identifying 'x' as 'y'. According to them what we actually see in the desert is 'a collection of reflecting rays of the sun', but the rays of the sun start appearing as 'water' because of resemblences with water.

In Western tradition, however, some analysts have called such a perception as 'hallucination'. According to them 'hallucination' is false perception of something when in fact that something is not there. Most popular example of hallucination in the Western tradition is 'I see a pink elephant coming towards me' when in fact there is no elephant, let apart 'pink elephant' there.

I think seeing water in a desert should be maintained as a case of illusion since the pattern of mistaking 'x as y' can be applied here. Here, x is 'the rays of the sun' and 'y' is 'the water'. It should not be called a case of 'hallucination'.

8.0 Some scholars think that Indian thinkers did not take into account the cases like 'hallucination'. But it is not true.

Jayantabhaṭṭa, the noted logician of the 9th century of Kashmir has presented a detailed analysis of this type of perceptual error. According to him, the root cause of hallucination is the mental state. To illustrate, he offers a case of a person who is separated from his beloved and who is constantly thinking about his beloved and he gets so much involved in that he thinks that his beloved has come near him and is sitting by his side.

To quote from Jayanta's famous text called *Nyāyamañjarī*:

विरहोद्दीपिकोद्दामकामाकुलदृष्टयः।
दूरस्थामपि पश्यन्ति कान्तामन्तिकवर्तिनीम्।।

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'People whose vision is severely affected due to their excessive desire to have the association of their beloved wife because of separation, literally see her near them although physically she is at a far distance at a different place.'

It is obvious that Jayanta treats it to be a mental perception. He, therefore, calls it 'a mental illusion' (mānasa-vibhrama). He also treats it to be nirālambana-bhrama (perceptual error without a base). Thus, it is clear that it is not a case where 'x' (the base) has been taken as 'y'. Thus, such perception should be kept as belonging to a distinct category of perceptual error. The philosophers of Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition also has noticed this fact and they too call it nir-adhiṣṭhāna-bhrama which is same as nirālambana-bhrama of Jayanta.

Jayanta starts analysing the perception of the wife of that person. He asks:

Which content does appear in this mental illusion?

Jayanta, however, thinks that 'the content of the remembrance' appeared in this illusion. Normally, this is what happens: a person remembers someone and sees that person present before him or her.

Now, the question arises: how does such a remembrance arise when nothing is present there?

Jayanta offers some of the grounds because of which remembrance occurs in such a situation. They are:

a. Knowledge of similarity
b. Excessive desire; excessive grief etc.
c. Repeated association
d. Cataract of eyes
e. Slumber
f. Loss of balance of dhātu-s

However, when ground could be detected, adṛṣṭa (unknown factor) should be treated as the cause of such remembrance.

When it is a confirmed fact that his wife is not present near the person and in spite of that he sees her near him, it is obvious that he remembered her and the content of that remembrance he sees near him. In the words of Jayanta:

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आकारः स्मृत्युपारूढः प्रायेण स्फुरति भ्रमे।
स्मृतेस्तु कारणं किञ्चित् कदाचिद् भवति क्वचित्।।
क्वचित् सदृशविज्ञानं कामशोकादयः क्वचित्।
क्वचित्तु दर्शनाभ्यासः तिमिरं चक्षुषः क्वचित्।।
क्वचिन्निद्रा क्वचिच्चिन्ता धातूनां विकृतिः क्वचित्।
अलक्ष्यमाणे तद्धेतौ अदृष्टं स्मृतिकारणम्।।

Who knows whether a child gets an illusion or not? Granting that a child has, it occurs only due remembrance caused by some unseen factor.

Jayanta says:

बालस्येन्दुद्वयज्ञानमस्ति नास्तीति वेत्ति कः।
अस्तित्वेऽपि स्मृतौ हेतुमदृष्टं तस्य मन्वते।।

When a cognition arises there has to be some causal factor. One cannot have knowledge of rabbit's horns. Thus, one must accept that there appears something as content of a remembrance which is presented by the mind as being present in front of the perceiver. This is the only rational explanation possible, says Jayanta:

नूनं नियमसिद्ध्यर्थं जनकस्यावभासनम्।
न चैकान्तासतो दृष्टा ज्ञानोत्पादनयोग्यता।।
न च सन्निहितं वस्तु तत्रास्ति वनितादिकम्।
तेनेदं स्मृत्युपारूढं अवभातीति मन्वते।।[4]

Thus, in a case where perception arises without the contact of external sense-organ to an ordinary person and when the perceiver thinks that the content of that perception is in contact with his or her external sense-organ it needs to be categorized as a mental perception of an extra-ordinary type and this is what Jayanta calls as mānasa-bhrama or nirālambana-bhrama and this is what the followers of the Rāmānuja philosophy calls as niradhiṣṭhāna-bhrama.

Such a mānasa-vibhrama may be compared with the western concept of 'hallucination'. In Western culture hallucination is reported when someone is in a drunken state. Obviously, this state affects the mind that may create such erroneous perception called 'hallucination'.

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Notes

1. इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानम् अव्यपदेश्यम्।
   अव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम्।। *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.4
2. See *Tarkasaṅgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa (English Translation by V.N. Jha), p. 11
3. *Nyāyamañjarī*, (Mysore Edition) Pt.1, pp. 228-30
4. *Nyāyamañjarī*, (Mysore Edition) Pt.1, p. 229

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9

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य अनुवादपरम्परा

नारायणदाशः

गुणिगणगणनारम्भे न पतति कठिनी सुसंभ्रमा यस्य।
तेनाम्बा यदि सुतिनी वद वन्ध्या कीदृशी भवेत्।।

समस्या

संस्कृतसाहित्यक्षेत्रे २०११ ईसवीयसंवत्सरश्चिरं स्मरणीयः स्थास्यति। तत्र त्रीणि कारणानि सन्ति- १. केन्द्रसाहित्य अकादम्या ऐदम्प्राथम्येन संस्कृतबालसाहित्याय पञ्चाशत्सहस्रात्मकः पुरस्कारः घोषितः, २. अनूदितसाहित्यक्षेत्रीयं पुरस्कारस्य राशिं वर्धयित्वा पञ्चाशत्सहस्रमितः कृतः, ३. विश्वसंस्कृतपुस्तकमेला चायोजितेति। बालसाहित्याय वर्षीयान् कविः कथाकारः राजस्थानवास्तव्यः डा. पद्मशास्त्रिवर्यः सभाजितः तस्य कथाशतकमिति कथाग्रन्थाय, सन्देशसम्पादकः डा. विश्वासवर्यश्च सभाजितः आवरणग्रन्थस्यानुवादाय। परन्तु एतत्तु चिन्त्यं यत् कथाशतकं किं बालसाहित्यं वर्तते वा न वेति। यतो हि तत्र पदे पदे क्लिष्ट-सन्धि-समास-लकार-सहकृता शैली एव गृहीता वर्तते। कथमिदं बालसाहित्यमुच्यते इति अन्विष्यन्नहं विश्वस्य प्रथमबालसाहित्यं पञ्चतन्त्रं प्राप्तवान्। परन्तु तत्रापि समस्या सैव। मया मङ्गलाचरणरूपेण गृहीतश्लोकः तत्रादावेव पठितः। कथामुखस्य प्रथमवाक्यं सकृद् विलोक्यतां नाम- 'तत्र सकलार्थिकल्पद्रुमः, प्रवरमुकुटमणिमरीचिमञ्जरीचर्चितचरणयुगलः, सकलकलापारङ्गतोऽमरशक्तिर्नाम राजा बभूव।' वस्तुतः पण्डितानां कृते सरलं प्रतीयमानमिदं वाक्यं, क्रियापदं वा तथा सरलं नास्ति। अपि च इदं तु सर्वथा न प्रतीयते बालसाहित्यमिति। यद्यपि प्रतिज्ञातमस्ति मूर्खपुत्राणामुपकाराय इदं प्रणीयते इति, तथापि 'अग्रे वरं गर्भस्रावो ..' इत्यादिश्लोकं पठित्वा वदति- 'तदेतेषां यथा बुद्धिप्रकाशो भवति तथा कोऽप्युपायोऽनुष्ठीयताम्। अत्र च मद्दत्तां वृत्तिं भुञ्जानानां पण्डितानां पञ्चशती तिष्ठति।' कथमपि एतत्तु - 'कथाच्छलेन बालानां नीतिस्तदिह कथ्यते' इति तु नास्ति। अथवा बालानामुपकाराय प्रतिजानतः तर्कसङ्ग्रहकारस्य बालत्वमत्र लक्ष्यते। ... एवमेव मनसि उदियाय कश्चन महाप्रश्नः - कदाचित् अयं विष्णुशर्मणः मूलपाठो नास्तीति। अस्य प्रश्नस्यैव समाधानाय अस्मिन् शोधपत्रे यते। विशेषतः अत्र विशिष्टानुवादानां काचित् परिचितिरेव भवेत्। अधिकन्तु अधिकगवेषणासापेक्षं वर्तते।

१. मूलपञ्चतन्त्रस्य रचनाकाल-स्वाम्य-विषयाश्च

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य मूलमेव इदानीं यावत् नोपलब्धम्। काश्चन महाभारतीयाः कथाः पञ्चतन्त्रे पुनरुक्ताः सन्ति। ई. पू. ३८० समये समानशैल्याः पशुपक्षिणां कथाः जातककथास्वपि

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लभ्यन्ते। महाभाष्ये कथासम्बन्धिन्यः लोकोक्तयः, अहिनकुलम्, काकोलूकीयम् इत्यादीनि पदानि च लभ्यन्ते। अतः इदं तु निश्चप्रचं यत् ईसापूर्वप्रथमशतकं यावत् उपदेशात्मकाः पशुकथाः लोककथाश्च विकसिताः आसन्। अतः केचन पाश्चात्याः ई. पू. तृतीयशतके पञ्चतन्त्रस्य कालं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। पञ्चतन्त्रस्य रचनाकालम् ईसवीयतृतीयशतकदेशीयमिति डा. कपिलदेवद्विवेदिनः सम्मतम्।[५] ख्री. पू. द्वितीयशतके अस्य समयं मनुते हेरटल महोदयः यत् कीथवर्यस्यापि सम्मतम्। एवञ्च ईसापूर्वद्वितीयशतकात् ख्रीष्टियतृतीयशतकाभ्यन्तरे पञ्चतन्त्रं रचितमिति अनुमीयते।[२-६]

यद्यपि अस्य स्वाम्यत्वविषये विप्रतिपद्यन्ते पाश्चात्याः मनीषिणः, तथापि भारतीयाः विष्णुशर्माणमेव तद्रचयितारं मन्वन्ते। अत्र अधुनातने संस्करणे पञ्चतन्त्राणि सन्ति, तथा च मूलतः पञ्चभिः महाकथाभिः सह अनुस्यूततया ५८ उपकथाः सन्ति, १०१३ श्लोकाश्च विलसन्ति।

२. मूलम्

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य तथा कथासाहित्यस्योपरि विशेषगवेषणया अस्य लेखक-काल-वस्तु-विषये इतोऽपि बहु ज्ञातव्यमवशिष्यते। बहुभिः अस्य भारतीयमूलत्वं स्वीकृतमेव। अपि च प्राचीनकथानां मूलं लोककथासु लोकजीवने लोकनृत्येषु वा विक्षिप्ततया वर्तते एव। Norman Brown महोदयः बहु गवेष्य वदति -

> It is doubtless true that in the remote past many stories had their origin among the illiterate folk, often in pre-literary times, and were later taken into literature. It is also just as true that many stories that appear in literature existed there first and are not indebted to the folklore for their origin. But leaving aside questions concerning the early history of Hindu stories and dealing strictly with modern Indian fiction, we find that folklore has frequently taken its material from literature. This process has been so extensive that of the 3000 tales so far reported, all of which have been collected during the past fifty years, at least half can be shown to be derived from literary sources.[7]

३. अनुवादाः

इतः निश्चप्रचं ज्ञायते यत् मूलनष्टस्य पञ्चतन्त्रस्य ज्ञानाय अनुवाद एव शरणम्। किन्तु षष्ठशतकादारभ्य इदानीं यावद् विश्वेस्मिन् प्रायः सर्वासु भाषासु ग्रन्थस्यास्य अनुवादो जात एव। मूलपञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रथमानुवादः अभवत् पहलवीभाषया षष्ठशतकस्य प्रथमार्द्धे। किन्तु मूलेन सह अनुवादोऽपि विलुप्तः। इदं निश्चयेन लिखितरूपेण कथितरूपेण च उत्तरतिब्बत-

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चीनादि-दक्षिणपूर्व-एशियादेशेभ्यः प्राप्तं तीर्थयात्रावसरे बौद्धभिक्षुभिः। एवमेव एतत् परिव्याप्तं दक्षिणपूर्वदेशेषु तिब्बत-चीन-मङ्गोलिया-जाभादिदेशेषु। ईडगेर्टनवर्यस्य (१९२४ ई.) मतेन.....

> .....there are recorded over two hundred different versions known to exist in more than fifty languages, and three-fourths of these languages are extra-Indian. As early as the eleventh century this work reached Europe, and before 1600 it existed in Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, Old Slavonic, Czech, and perhaps other Slavonic languages. Its range has extended from Java to Iceland... [In India,] it has been worked over and over again, expanded, abstracted, turned into verse, retold in prose, translated into medieval and modern vernaculars, and retranslated into Sanskrit. And most of the stories contained in it have "gone down" into the folklore of the story-loving Hindus, whence they reappear in the collections of oral tales gathered by modern students of folk-stories.[४]

तदनन्तरं ११९९ ख्रीष्टाब्दे जिनपतिसूरिणः शिष्यः श्वेताम्बरो जैनभिक्षुः पूर्णभद्रः २१ नूतनकथाभिः सह नूतनसंस्करणं प्राकाशयत् 'पञ्चाख्यानक' नाम्ना। इतः पूर्वं 'तन्त्राख्यायिका' इति अपरमपि संस्करणं प्रकाशितमासीत्। ततः दक्षिणभारतीयसंस्करणमपि प्रकाशितम्। उत्तर-पश्चिम-भारतीयसंस्करणमनुसृत्य परवर्तिकाले बृहत्कथामञ्जरी-कथासरित्सागरौ विरचितौ। परन्तु किमपि संस्करणं तन्त्राख्यायिकेव नानुसरति मूलम्। परिसंख्यानात् ज्ञायते गतेषु १५०० वर्षेषु बाइबेलग्रन्थात् परं पञ्चतन्त्रस्यैव अनुवादबाहुल्यं लक्ष्यते। इदानीं यावदस्य षष्ट्या भाषाभिः पञ्चाशदधिकद्विशतोत्तराः अनुवादाः विद्वद्भिः समुपलब्धाः सन्ति। न केवलं तत्, अपि च ईशपकथासु, आरब्यरजनीकथासु, सिन्दवादेषु, तथा ३०-५० प्रतिशतं पाश्चात्यबालगीतिषु, सङ्गीतमूलककथासु (वालाड), अपि पञ्चतन्त्रस्य, जातककथानां वा मूलमनुमीयते। १८५९ ई. संवत्सरे थिउडरवेनफेवर्यस्य (Theodor B nfey) गवेषणात्, १९१२ ई. संवत्सरे पूर्णभद्रस्य पञ्चतन्त्रविषये जोहनेसहारटेलवर्यस्य (Johannes Hertel) समधिकानुसन्धानात्, १९२४ ई. वर्षे फ्राङ्कलीनएडगेर्टनवर्यस्य पञ्चतन्त्रस्य पुनर्निर्माण-संस्करणाच्च परवर्तिकाले विषयेऽस्मिन् अधिकगवेषणं प्रारब्धमस्ति। अधुना २०११ वर्षे रामसेवूडमहोदयेन (Kalila wa Dimna, 2011) इति ग्रन्थस्य सङ्कलनं कृतमस्ति, यस्य विषये तेन २००९ ईसवीयसंवत्सरे मार्चमासे एकस्मिन् सम्मेलने आलोकपातं कृतम्।

वस्तुतः अत्र अनुवादानां परम्पराद्वयं वर्तते। एकं तु पञ्चतन्त्राधारेण अपरं च कलिल एण्ड डिमान आधारेण।

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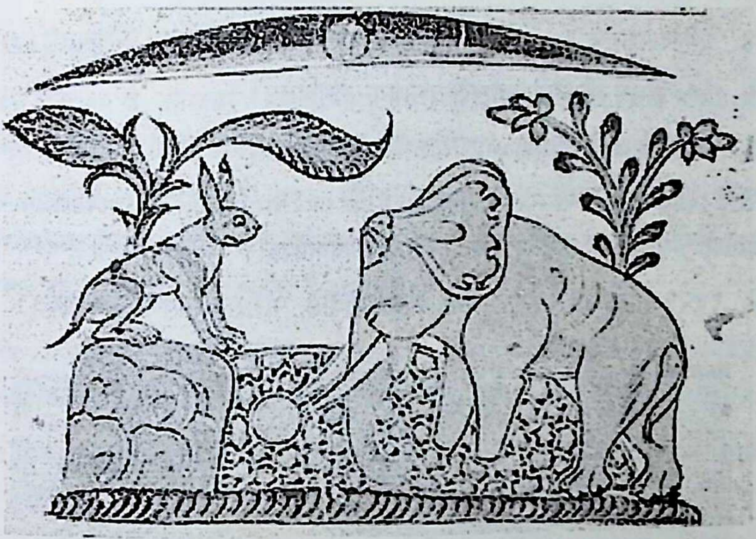
३.१. प्रथमपर्यायस्य अनुवादाः

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रथमविदेशयात्रा विषये एका कथा श्रूयते। भौतविद्याविद् बूरजो (Burzeo) अनुशिर्वणः राज्ञः ५१३-५७१ ईसवीयसंवत्सरे, राजसभायामासीत्। सः सञ्जीवन्याः अन्वेषणे भारतदेशे प्रेषितः, तदप्राप्य स पञ्चतन्त्रमेव ईरानदेशं नीतवान्, 'कलिलह-डिमानह'? (Kalilah wa Dimnah) नाम्ना पह्लवीभाषया अनूदितवान्। अयमेवाद्यानुवादो वर्तते पञ्चतन्त्रस्य। परन्तु दौर्भाग्यादयमनुवादः, मूलमधुना च नोपलभ्यते।

३.२. द्वितीयपर्यायस्य अनुवादाः

३.२.१. ईसवीय ५७० समये, प्रायः आधुनिकयूरोपीयानुवादेभ्यः पूर्वं पञ्चतन्त्रं मुख्यतया आरबीयानुवादात् एव अनूदितं भवति स्म। दशम-एकादशशतकयोः इदं सीरियाभाषया अनूदितमभवत् यत् तन्त्राख्यायिकायाः सामीप्यं भजते। वड-नामकेन पुरोहितेन पह्लवीभाषातः (Kalilah wa Dimnah) पञ्चतन्त्रमनूदितं सीरिया-भाषया अनूदितवान्, यस्य एका कृतिः असुरक्षितावस्थायां १८७० ई. आविष्कृता। एतन्नामद्वयं पञ्चतन्त्रस्य करटक-दमनकौ इति जानन्त्येव सुधियः।



(१३५४ ईसवीयसंवत्सरे सीरियासंस्करणात् उद्धृतं चित्रम्। चित्रे शशकशिशुः हस्तिराजं चन्द्रमसः प्रतिबिम्बं प्रदर्शयति।)

३.२.२. ७५० ई. समये, आरबिकभाषया अबदुल इवान अलमुकाफा (Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffaa) वर्येण कलिलह वा दिलनह (Kalilah wa Dimnah) नाम्ना अनूदितोऽयं ग्रन्थः। १७८७ ई. चार्लस् विल्किन्स (Charles Wilkins) वर्यस्य संस्कृत-हितोपदेशानुवादः समस्तयूरोपीयभाषानुवादस्य अयमेव मूलग्रन्थो वर्तते। मध्ययुगीनयूरोपे साधारणतया अयमनुवादो बिदपाईकथा (The Fables of Bidpai) नाम्ना प्रसिद्धिमवाप।

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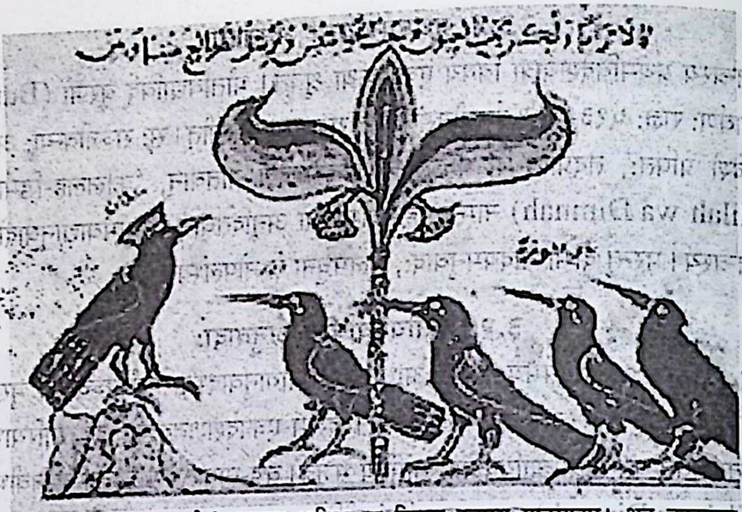

(१२१० ईसवीयसंवत्सरस्य आरवीसंस्करणस्य कलिल वा डिमना इत्यस्य पृष्ठमात्रम्। अत्र काकराजः तस्य राजनीतिकपरामर्शकैः विचारं करोति।)

३.२.३. १०३१ क्रैस्ताब्दे 'तन्त्रिकामन्दक' नाम्ना जाभा-भाषया पञ्चतन्त्रमनूदितम्।

३.२.४. एकादशशतके १०८० ई. सेठपुत्रेण सिमोनवर्येण ग्रीकभाषया अनूदितम्।

३.२.५. ११०० समये रविजोयेलद्वारा हिब्रूभाषया अनूदितम्।

३.२.६. ११२१ ईसवीये आधुनिकपारसिकभाषया अनूदितम्।

३.२.७. १२६३-१२७८ समये 'Liber Kelilae et Dimnae', 'Directorium vitae humanae' नाम्ना अस्य द्वे पुस्तके १४८० ई. प्रकाशिते।

३.२.८. १४२९ ई. क्रैस्ताब्दे हेराट-वर्यः आरबीभाषातः पारसिकभाषया अन्ववदत्।

(१४२९ ई. Kelileh o Demneh ग्रन्थस्य हेराटकृतस्य पारसिकसंस्करणस्य पृष्ठमात्रम्। शृगालः सिंहं जलमध्यमाह्वयति।)

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३.२.९. १४८० ई. हीब्रूभाषातः लाटिन् भाषया अनूदितम्, अयमेव यूरोपीयानुवादानां मूलग्रन्थे वर्तते।

३.२.१०. १४८३ समये 'आन्थोनियस वन फोर' जर्मनभाषया अनूदितवान्। शीर्षकमासीत् 'दास वुच देर वाईस्पेल देर आल्टेन वाईसेन' (Das buch der byspel der alten wysen)। अयं ग्रन्थो बहुवारं मुद्रितः मुद्रणयन्त्रस्याविष्कारात्परम्। अनेन गुटेनवर्ग-मुद्रणालये बाइबेलग्रन्थात् परं मुद्रितप्रथमग्रन्थेषु स्थानं प्राप्तमासीत्। सम्पूर्णजर्मनदेशीयः अनेन प्रभावितो जातः। इतः पुनः डानिश-उपद्विपीय-डच-भाषासु अनूदितः।

३.२.११. १४९३ ई. (१२५२ ई.?) च स्पानिसभाषया अनूदितम्।

३.२.१२. १५४६ ई. आग्नोलो फाईरेन्जुलो-महोदयेन इटालीभाषया अनूदितम्।

३.२.१३. १५५२ ई. समये ईटालीभाषया पुनः 'आण्टोनिय फ्रान्सिको डोनी' वर्येण (Antonio Francisco Doni) अनूदितम्, 'ला मोराल फिलोसफि' (La Moral Philosophie) नाम्ना। अयमेव मूलो ग्रन्थः प्रथमाङ्ग्लानुवादस्य।

३.२.१४. १५५६ ई. अयं ग्रन्थः फ्रेञ्चभाषया अनूदितः।

३.२.१५. १५७० ई. संवत्सरे 'सर् थोमास् नर्थ' महोदयेन अयं प्रथमतया इलिजावेथीय-आङ्ग्लभाषया 'The Fables of Bidpai, La Moral Philosophie of Doni' नाम्ना अनूदितः। Joseph Jacobs महोदयः १८८८ ई. अस्य पुनर्मुद्रणं कृतवान्। प्रथमपञ्चतन्त्रानुवादस्य (पह्लवी) एकसहस्रवर्षेभ्यः परं तत् आङ्ग्लरूपं प्राप्तमिति विशेषः। द्वितीयतः अयं डोनीवर्यस्य इतालीयानुवादतः जातः।

३.२.१७. १६७९ ई. संवत्सरे ला फण्टलाइन् (La Fontaine) प्राकाशयत् 'The Fables of Bidpai' भारतीयस्य ऋषेः विद्पाई-आधारेण।

३.२.१८. १८२२ ई. संवत्सरे जर्मनभाषया अनूदितम्, ततः विविधयूरोपीयभाषाभिरनूदितम्, एफ्. ग्लाड्विन् - (F. Gladwin) वर्येण आङ्ग्ल्या अनूदितम्।

३.२.१९. १८७६ ई. संवत्सरे बिक्केल (Bickell) महोदयेन सीरियाभाषातः जर्मनभाषया अनूद्य सम्पादितम्।

३.२.२०. १९११ ई. तथैव कृतवान् सुल्बथेस (Schulthess) महोदयः।

३.३. तृतीयपर्यायस्य अनुवादाः

३.३.१. तृतीयपर्यायस्य आरम्भो भवति 'सर् विलियम् जोन्स' महोदयात्। सः संस्कृतशिक्षणे अनुवादाभ्यासादिसन्दर्भे हितोपदेशं प्रयुङ्क्ते स्म। हितोपदेशस्य तुर्कीयसंस्करणेन सह स परिचित आसीत्। तदा अयं ग्रन्थः फ्रेञ्चभाषयाऽपि लभ्यते स्म। तेन १७८४ ई. संवत्सरे पञ्चतन्त्रमनूदितम्।

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३.३.२. ततः पूर्वं विलकिन्-वर्यस्य अनुवादः १७८७ ई. प्रकाशितः।

३.३.३. एच्. एच्. विलसन् हिन्दुकथाविषये लिखितवान्, परन्तु विशेषभावेन पञ्चतन्त्र-हितोपदेशादिविषये किमपि नोक्तवान्। माक्समूलर-वुल्हर-कैलहर्ण-प्रभृतयोऽपि धन्यवादार्हाः सन्ति तेषां योगदानार्थम्। ष्टेर्नवाच-महोदयस्तु सुभाषितक्षेत्रे अत्यद्भुतं साधितवान्। एवमेव अस्य ग्रन्थस्य तदा तदा विभिन्नभारतीय-जर्मनी-आङ्ग्ल-भाषास्वपि अनुवादाः जाताः।

३.३.४. दाक्षिणात्य-आङ्ग्ल-संस्करणस्य भूमिकायां 'जोसेफ्-जेकाब' (Jacobs, Joseph - १८८८ ई.) महोदयः पञ्चतन्त्रस्य विंशत्यधिक-यूरोपीय-संस्करणविषये सूचयति। ब्रिटिशलाइब्रेरी-ग्रन्थसूच्यां बिदपाई-कथानां सप्तदश-अष्टादश-शतकयोः प्रसिद्धानां नव अनुवादानां, नवदशशतकस्य त्रयाणामनुवादानां सूचनाः लभ्यन्ते।

३.३.५. १९०८-१५ ई. 'हारेटलजोहान्स' (Hertel Johannes) पूर्णभद्रस्य तन्त्राख्यायिकायाः आधारेण विविधसंस्करणानि प्रकाशितवान्। इडगेर्टन एतेषां समीक्षणं कृत्वा अभिप्रैति यत्, पूर्णभद्रेण पुनः निर्मितैषा तन्त्राख्यायिका।

३.३.६. १९२४ ई. 'फ्राङ्कलीनएडगेर्टन' वर्यस्य (Edgerton Franklin) पञ्चतन्त्रस्य पुनर्निर्माण-संस्करणात्परमस्मिन् विषये अधिकगवेषणं प्रारब्धमस्ति।

३.३.७. आधुनिकेषु १९२५ ई. 'आर्थरराइडेर' (Ryder, Arthur W.) वर्यस्य संस्करणं गद्यस्य गद्येन, पद्यस्य पद्येन अनुवादात् प्रसिद्धिमवाप।

३.३.८. १९८० ई. 'रामसेवुड'वर्यस्य (Ramsay Wood) ग्रन्थस्य उपोद्घाते विशिष्ट औपन्यासिकः 'डोरिस् लेसिंग' (Doris Lessing) लिखति -

> 'it is safe to say that most people in the West these days will not have heard of it, while they will certainly at the very least have heard of the Upanishads and the Vedas. Until comparatively recently, it was the other way around. Anyone with any claim to a literary education knew that the *Fables of Bidpai* or the *Tales of Kalila and Dimna* - these being the most commonly used titles with us - was a great Eastern classic. There were at least twenty English translations in the hundred years before 1888. Pondering on these facts leads to reflection on the fate of books, as chancy and unpredictable as that of people or nations."

३.३.९. १९९० ई. पञ्चतन्त्रस्य 'चन्द्रराजन्' पश्चिमोत्तरग्रन्थाधारेण आङ्ग्ल्या अन्ववदत्, यत् १९९३ ई. पेङ्गुइन्-प्रकाशनसंस्थया प्रकाशितं वर्तते।

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३.३.१०. अपरञ्च 'पाट्रिक ओलिवेले' (Olivelle, Patrick) दक्षिणपरम्परया अन्ववदत्, यत् १९९७ ई. अकस्फोर्डविश्वविद्यालयमुद्रणालयात् प्रकाशितम्। एतत् पुनः 'क्लेसंस्कृतपुस्तकालयात्' २००६ ई. पुनः प्रकाशितम्।

३.३.११. अधुना २०११ वर्षे रामसेवूडमहोदयेन (Kalila and Dimna, २०११) इति ग्रन्थस्य सङ्कलनं कृतमस्ति।

४. वैशिष्ट्यम्

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रभावं कापि भाषा कापि संस्कृतिर्वा अपलापयितुं न शक्नोति। स्वसमाजमनुसृत्य अनुवादकाः तत्र तत्र परिवर्त्तनमपि कृतवन्तः। तदपि साहित्यस्य सुदूरप्रसारयोग्यः प्रभाव एव। ईवानालमुकाफावर्येण मध्य-पार्सीभाषातः कलिल वा डिमन नाम्ना आरबीभाषायां कृतोऽनुवादः आरबीयगद्यसाहित्ये प्रसिद्धोऽस्ति। तावता शतं समाभ्यः पह्लवीभाषया अनूदितस्य पञ्चतन्त्रस्य अपि आरबीभाषयानूदितः आसीदेव। एवमत्र कानिचन परिवर्तनानि अपि कृतानि। यथा-कथामुखस्य कथा, मुख्यकथा च परिवर्तिते। शृगालद्वयस्य नाम परिवर्तितम् - कलिल डिमना इति। प्रथमभागस्य वृषभस्य हिन्दुत्वमप्यत्र परिवर्तितम्। पह्लव्यामेव एतत् परिवर्तितमासीत्, कथाग्रन्थश्चापि अनयोः नाम्ना प्रसिद्धम्- (Kalila and Dimna) इति। प्रथमाध्याये मुकाफावर्येण नूतनतया डिमनस्य परीक्षां योजयति। शृगालः प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रमुखचरित्रं वृषभं सञ्जीवकम् उत्तेजितं कृत्वा मरणाय प्रेरितवान् इति परीक्षा दिनद्वयं यावत् समाप्तिं विना प्रचलति। यदा डिमनस्य विरुद्धे कावपि व्याघ्र-चित्रकौ साक्ष्यदानाय सज्जौ तदा एव सा समाप्ता, स च अभियुक्तः मारितश्च। तत्कालीनसमाजस्य राजनीतेश्च प्रमुखं चित्रमपि इतः लक्ष्यते इति अभिप्रयन्ति केचन। अत्र केषाञ्चन पशूनां नामानि परिवर्तितानि, क्वचित् पशवः अपि परिवर्तिताः। चतुर्थाध्याये मकरः कच्छपरूपेण, नकुलः weasel रूपेण परिवर्तितौ। किं बहुना, अत्र ब्राह्मणोऽपि सन्न्यासिना परिवर्तितः।

तात्कालिककथाग्रन्थैः सह अपि पञ्चतन्त्रस्य साम्यं लक्षणीयं वर्तते। विशेषतः ईशपकथासु अधिकं साम्यं लक्ष्यते एव। उदाहरणार्थं चित्रकचर्माच्छादितगर्दभकथा-हृदय-कर्णहीनगर्दभकथयोः, भग्नपात्रस्य कथा - The Milkmaid and Her Pail कथयोः, स्वर्णदायकसर्पकथा - The Man and the Serpent कथयोः साम्यं द्रष्टुं शक्यते। अन्याः प्रसिद्धाः कथाः सन्ति - The Tortoise and The Geese and The Tiger, the Brahmin and the Jackal. एवंविधाः पशुकथाः विश्वस्य प्रतिभाषं सर्वासु संस्कृतिषु च लभ्यन्ते। अवश्यं कासाञ्चन मूलं भारतीयलोककथासु, आर्यमहाकाव्येषु च लभ्यते, यद् विश्वबालकथासाहित्यस्य मूलं वर्तते। फ्रेञ्चकथाकार जिन दे ला फण्टाइन (Jean de La Fontaine) स्वकार्तज्ञं भारतीयर्षिं ज्ञापयति - 'This is a second book of fables that I present to the public... I have to acknowledge that the greatest part is inspired from Pilpay, an Indian Sage'.[10] पञ्चतन्त्रक्षेत्रे थेडरोवेनफाइ-वर्यस्य तुलनात्मकेन गभीराध्ययनेन हेरटेल-ईडर्गेटनवर्ययोः भ्रान्तिः निवारिता। हेरटेलेन भारते काश्मीरे अस्य मूलमन्विष्य तन्त्राख्यायिकां

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प्राप्तवान्। ईडगेर्टेन एतेषामध्ययनेन संस्कृतमूलस्य पुनः निर्माणाय प्रयतितवान्। एवमेव विश्वकथासाहित्ये विभिन्नसमये अनूदितस्य पञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रभावमनुमातुं शक्यते।

अस्माकं साहित्ये पशुपक्षि-व्यवहाराणां पात्रीकरणं प्रसिद्धं वर्तते परन्तु तस्य प्रवर्तकं पञ्चतन्त्रमेव। इदानीन्तनया गवेषणया वयं जानीमो यत् केचन प्राणिनः मनुष्यवत् आत्मानुभवं कर्तुं शक्नुवन्ति। वानर-डलफिन-हस्तीत्यादयः प्राणिनः आत्मानुभवं प्राप्नुवन्ति इति प्रमाणितं वर्तते। काकपरिवारस्य मागपाई (magpie) इति गायकपक्षिविशेषः अत्र दक्षो वर्तते। अयं गुणः सिंहस्य नास्ति इत्यधुना प्रमाणितं यत् प्रथमतन्त्रस्य जले प्रतिबिम्बावलोकयति सिंहे नासीदिति वयं जानीम एव। अतः पञ्चतन्त्रे गृहीतानि पशुपक्षिचरित्राणि न कदापि कल्पनाप्रसूतानि अपि तु प्रकृतेः परिवेषस्य प्राणिसमाजस्य च दीर्घपर्यवेक्षणस्य फलानि सन्ति।

पञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रभावेण प्रभाविताः बहवः पारसिक-आरबिक-चित्रकाराः सूक्ष्मचित्रेषु, भित्तिचित्रेषु पात्रचित्रेषु च पञ्चतन्त्रस्य विविधसंस्करणानां (कलिलह वा दिमनह) चित्राणि चित्रितवन्तः। द्वितीय-तृतीयशतकयोः श्रीलङ्कायां वानरमकरयोः कथाचित्राणि बहुधा प्रदर्शितानि प्रशंसितानि च। सप्तमशतके मामल्लपुरम् शिलालेखे पञ्चतन्त्रकथाः वर्तन्ते। दशमशतकीये एकस्मिन् वङ्गीयमन्दिरे कठिनमृत्फलकेषु एवमेव चित्राणि विलसन्ति। द्वादशशतकीयं मन्दपुर-विष्णुमन्दिरं पञ्चतन्त्रकथाभिः चित्रितानि सन्ति। किं बहुना, भारते तु पञ्चतन्त्रस्य कथाः रामायण-महाभारत-कथाभिः सह मन्दिरनिर्माणस्य अंशविशेषाः जाताः।

(इण्डोनेसियादेशे केन्द्रीय-जाभा-द्वीपे मेण्डुटमन्दिरे चित्रफलकम् १)

५. उपसंहारः

पञ्चतन्त्रमिति विश्वसाहित्यमधिकरोति कोऽपि कथाग्रन्थः, हारीपोटरमतिरिच्य। अनेन सामान्यपत्रेण तत् पत्रस्थीकर्तुं न शक्यते कथमपि। परन्तु पञ्चतन्त्रस्य प्रभावस्तु स्पष्टः, परिष्कृतो विश्वजनीनश्च।

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आरबीय-यूरोपीयानां कृते नीतिवादस्य नैतिकमूल्यानि अत्र लक्ष्यन्ते। पञ्चतन्त्रस्य धूर्त-सूक्ष्मबुद्धिसम्पन्नकथासु ते अवश्यं परिवर्तनं कृतवन्तः। ग्रन्थस्य वैशिष्ट्यं तस्य कथामुखादेव ज्ञायते।

अजातमृतमूर्खेभ्यो मृताऽजातौ सुतौ वरम्।
यतस्तौ स्वल्पदुःखाय यावज्जीवं जड़ो दहेत्।।
किन्तया क्रियते धेन्वा या न सूते न दुग्धदा।
कोऽर्थः पुत्रेण जातेन यो न विद्वान्न भक्तिमान्।।[१२]

अतः वास्तविकजीवने ज्ञानस्य महत्वं विशदीकृत्य पञ्चतन्त्रं मर्त्ये एव स्वर्गस्य निर्माणं करोति। पञ्चतन्त्रस्य उपरि विविधभाषाभिः तथ्यजातं लभ्यते। अतः तस्य परिष्करणं संशोधनं गवेषणं परिष्करणं वा एकस्य जनस्य साध्यं नास्ति। कदाचित् पाश्चात्य-पौरस्त्यानां कश्चन गणः एव अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे कार्यं कृत्वा किमपि साधयितुं शक्नोति।

तथापि अनेन पत्रेण एवं प्रमाणितं भवति यत्, संस्कृतग्रन्थानामाचार्याणां च आनृण्यं सदा सर्वदा स्थास्यति, विश्वसाहित्ये। अपि च बालसाहित्यस्य विकासे भारतीयर्षिभिः यत् कृतमस्ति तत्क्रियदंशेनापि पूरयितुं कस्याः अपि भाषायाः सामर्थ्यं नास्ति। अस्माभिरपि तथाविधमनुकरणीयं, येनेयमार्षपरम्परा अग्रेऽपि अनुवृत्ता भविष्यति इति शम्।

Notes

1. संस्कृतसाहित्य का समीक्षात्मक इतिहास, पृ.५७५।
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3. *Problems, Myths and Stories* by Doris Lessing, Institute for Cultural Research Monograph Series No. 36, p. 13, London 1999.
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5. Ryder 1925, Translator's introduction: 'The Pañcatantra contains the most widely known stories in the world. If it was further declared that the Pañcatantra is the best collection of stories in the world, the assertion could hardly be disproved; and would probably command the assent of those possessing the knowledge for a judgment.'
6. Edgerton 1924, p.3. 'reacht' and 'workt' have been changed to conventional spelling.
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13. *History of the Migration of Pañcatantra.*
14. Excerpt from Wood's 2008 update of *Kalila and Dimna - Fables of Friendship and Betrayal.*
15. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchatantra".
16. Video of London 2009 ICR Illustrated Lecture on the Westward Migration of Panchatantra from India.
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10

Concept of Consciousness in Advaita Vedānta and Modern Science

(With Special Reference to Brahmakumārīs Philosophy)

Sureswar Meher

Abstract

Consciousness is the prime factor for the existence of every human being. Many ancient scholars, philosophers and modern scientists have been pondering and shedding light on it from various perspectives. Present paper is a dynamic synthesis with critical analysis of the views of advaita vedāntins mainly Ādi Śaṅkarācārya and Swami Vivekananda regarding the concept of Brahman or Ātman as the universal and pure consciousness which manifests itself in various forms and the whole universe is its apparent transformation; of modern scientists and physicists such as Erwin Schroedinger, Max Planck, Eugene Wigner and Fritjof Capra about matter and consciousness as two different kinds of reality and of Brahmakumārīs modern spiritual philosophy which correlates both spirituality and science to explore reality for the upliftment of the whole humanity.

Introduction

Philosophy, modern science and spirituality – a compact trinity of the most elevated dimensions of knowledge can definitely explore the real nature of any physical or non-physical entity in this universe and can also give an integrated vision of truth and an integrated personality by which one can achieve perfection in every milieu of the activity.

The object of science is to know the nature of reality in physical realm. All the scientific explorations aim at discovering certain secrets behind the forces and phenomena of nature and understanding the laws underlying them. Similarly, philosophy explores both the realities, mundane and transcendental; but all the established philosophical

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systems e.g. Advaita Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya etc. impart explanations on these two realities with their own methods of logic to justify them.

In the present paper, endeavours have been made to throw some light on the spiritual perspective of Brahmakumārīs. Spiritual wisdom which promotes spirituality has the power to synthesize all branches of knowledge integrated into one undifferentiated whole; because it is so logical as to gain support from scientific and philosophical methods of exploration. It gives a comprehensive and clear world-view that verily inspires and unites mankind to a higher level of consciousness and a way of life enriched with the divine qualities. It has the sound blend of knowledge of both mundane and transcendental realities. Brahmakumārīs, an international spiritud-educational institution, shows a special paradigm of spiritual wisdom for all the humanity towards acquiring its culmination. Brahmakumār Jagdish Chander, chief spokesperson of this spiritual organization, tries to establish an essence of the true nature of the subject matter in metaphysics by applying proper logic as well as scientific and philosophical techniques.

Attempts have been made in the present paper to focus on the views of advaita vedāntins, modern scientists, physicists and Brahmakumārīs to provide a deep insight into the nature of consciousness i.e. the primary reality.

Advaita Vedāntic View

Advaita Vedānta is considered the culmination of all the Indian philosophical systems. Referring to the upaniṣadic statements, the founder of this vedāntic school Ādi Śaṅkarācārya and his followers like Swami Vivekananda have lucidly elucidated the concept of consciousness or self. According to Śaṅkarācārya, Ātman or Brahman (transcendental self) has the nature of undifferentiated consciousness. Ātman is eternal, self-luminous, universal consciousness which shines by its own light and it reveals jīva (empirical self) and all the objects which cannot reveal themselves.[1] It is devoid of enjoying nature (bhoktṛtva) and activity (kartṛtva); but it appears to be an enjoying and active agent owing to its limiting adjuncts.[2] Ever-liberated ātman is beyond space, time and causality which is nondual and one (ekamevā'dvitīyam). The absolute, transcendental supreme self is the

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foundation of the empirical universe and the supreme, infinite brahman is the essence of ātman.[3]

Jīva is the ātman limited or individuated by the adjuncts of the body, the sense-organs, manas, buddhi and ahaṅkāra. It is the psycho-physical organism. Ātman, the supreme self, is one; but it appears to be many individual selves (jīva) owing to its limiting adjuncts (upādhi).[4] The internal organ (antaḥkaraṇa) is the adjunct of the ātman and it takes the forms of manas, buddhi, vijñāna and citta. Thus the internal organ in its four-fold form is the individuating principle of the jīva. Ātman is the transcendental and universal self, while jīva is the empirical and individual self. Jīva is neither a part nor a modification of the ātman[5] but it is only its appearance. The adjuncts as body, sense-organs, manas, buddhi and the like are creations of avidyā (ātma-māyā-visarjita) which are not real in nature. Jīva is an imaginary construction of the adjunct of buddhi that has no existence apart from buddhi which is the individuating principle[6] and with the destruction of the psycho-physical organism, jīva, the individual self, merges in ātman, the supreme self.[7] The pure consciousness or Brahman is the irrelative, formless, supreme reality that manifests itself in various forms (eko'ham bahu syāma) and the whole universe is its apparent transformation.

Refuting the example of space occupied by jars and the great space with souls and brahman, given by Śaṅkarācārya, Brahmakumār Jagdish states that souls (jīva) are conscient beings and have individual saṃskāra and with the destruction of their respective bodies, they cannot merge into the supreme soul who is perfect and omniscient. In fact, the souls can never be as perfect as God; for, if they could, they would not have an occasion to remain in illusion or be in a state of ignorance. It should be remembered that the happiness of one soul affects others. A man's pleasant state affects even plants; it has been proved. So, in no way, the analogy of the space of jars etc. suits the typical case of God and souls, of which the former is a perfect conscient being and the latter are under illusion (māyā or avidyā) and are therefore affected and are imperfect and vary even among themselves.[8]

Modern Advaita Vedāntī, Swami Vivekananda gives his view regarding this matter: "According to the advaitins proper, the followers

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of Śaṅkarācārya, the whole universe is the apparent evolution of brahman. Brahman is the material cause of the universe; but not really, only apparently. The celebrated illustration used is that of the rope and the snake, where the rope appears to be the snake; but was not really so…Even so, the whole universe, as it exists, is that being. It is unchanged and all the changes we see in it are only apparent. These changes are caused by deśa, kāla and nimitta or according to a higher psychological generalization, by nāma and rūpa."[9]

Again he says "modern science has really made the foundations of religion strong… What the metaphysicians call *being*, the physicists call *matter*, but there is no real fight between the two; both are one. Though an atom is invisible, unthinkable, yet in it are the real power and potency of the universe. That is what the vedāntin says of ātman.[10]

Criticizing the above-mentioned view of Swami Vivekananda, B. K. Jagdish logically renders his statement "the monists are not able to explain how God or Brahman totally gave up its divinity, knowledge or consciousness. How the immutable became mutable? Since the monists cannot say that God is mutable, therefore, they say that the transformation is not real, but is only apparent. But, in the case of the forces of nature or matter, the scientists say that the transformation is real or factual; it is not apparent or illusory. So the analogy of the snake and the rope is not befitting and the attempt at unification of God, souls and matter is only arbitrary. The parallel of the unified field theory, cited as an analogy by the monists is only a contrived one and, in fact, goes against them.

There is no denying the fact that the things of the world are transitory or momentary. They are changing every moment. But this change is factual and real and this momentary existence also, for that moment, is real. There are so many sub-atomic particles and even if we thought that one of these kinds, say the Quarks, are the ultimate or original form of energy, we know that even that is momentary. But it does not mean that it has only illusory existence or that it does not exist. Moreover, even the Quarks, or whatever be the ultimate or original form of matter or nature, are not conscious. So we cannot say that 'the being' and 'the matter' are the same. certainly, we cannot.[11]

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Modern Scientists' Views

In the light of modern science, especially in physiology, it is described that consciousness and body are two different entities where the body changes (because every seven years old cells are replaced by new ones), grows or decays with age; but consciousness maintains its identity and continuity. If a person be considered a mere body including brain, the fact of his continuous identity and continuous consciousness cannot be explained.

B. K. Jagdish gives stress on these two realities by saying that the body may get exhausted of physical energy where as the mind or consciousness may feel inexhaustibleness of physical, metaphysical or spiritual energy and may, in fact, grow with the years. While the body ages with years, the mind gets only wiser or more experienced. The heart, which is a part of the body, may grow weaker with age; but the consciousness or mind may grow in its power to love or hate. Thus the two are different entities whereas the body is cellular and molecular, i.e. physical and is subject to law of chemistry and physics and physiology. The mind, consciousness or soul are psychic, spiritual or metaphysical.[12]

Many eminent scientists and physicists such as Max Planck, Eugene Wigner, Fritjof Capra and Erwin Schroedinger have thrown much light on this consciousness in different angles.

i. Max Planck has said that consciousness, I regard as fundamental. I regard matter as derivative of consciousness. We cannot get behind consciousness. Everything that we talk about, everything that we regard as existing postulates consciousness.[13]

The sentence *matter is derivative of consciousness*, can be interpreted that both matter and consciousness are non-different, i.e. both are two sides of the same coin. But B. K. Jagdish declares that the existence of all the things is known only because of the existence of consciousness. So consciousness is a fundamental reality.[14]

ii. Nobel physicist Wigner says that there are two kinds of reality or existence – the existence of my consciousness and the reality of existence of everything else. The later is not absolute, but only relative. Excepting immediate sensations, the content of my consciousness, everything else is a construct.[15]

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Through the principle of indeterminacy, Heisenberg finally stated that while observing quantum particles, uncertainty or indeterminacy would always remain and it cannot be eliminated. Einstein, who didn't believe in this uncertainty principle, said that there must be a hidden variable somewhere which is responsible for this uncertainty. In 1961, Wigner gave his statement that it is the consciousness of the observing scientists which is itself the hidden variable.[16] He asserted that it is impossible to give an accurate and certain description of quantum processes *without explicit reference to consciousness.*[17]

B. K. Jagdish's comment on this above statement that if Wigner meant that the consciousness of the observer is a material energy which affects the observed particles, he would be wrong; because consciousness is not a form of material energy. Consciousness of the observing scientist most probably affects the quantum particles, but in another way. Consciousness or thought (which is one form of manifestation of consciousness) itself is non-physical or non-material, but it works through brain. Its own field interacts with the electro-magnetic field of the brain waves at a very subtle level, perhaps, at the level of photons. It is those brain's waves whose voltage can be measured and field can be determined that affect the quantum particles.[18]

Therefore matter and consciousness interact and influence each other; but they are not convertible into each other.

iii. David Bohm has used the concept of *Holon* in his theory of matter where he called it *an implicate order.* The scientists have felt that the inclusion of consciousness as a factor in determining external reality, as Geoffrey Chew has suggested, is an indispensable necessity. Famous scientist Fritjof Capra has asserted that consciousness is an essential feature of David Bohm's Holon theory, according to which the movement of one single particle is connected with the movement of the entire universe.[19]

B. K. Jagdish puts his statement that if all these assertions mean that it is necessary to understand that beside matter, consciousness also exists as a primary reality and in order to understand the universe, it is essential to understand consciousness also, then that also is alright. But, if by making the above statements, one means to say that consciousness and

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matter are inter-convertible or that souls and matter are the same entity, one changeable into the other, even as the monists say, then their assertions are without any foundations. They are mere assumption, unsupported by logic or science.[20]

iv. Erwin Schroedinger has also given the argument on the concept of consciousness. He contends that consciousness is never experienced in the plural, only in the singular… How does the idea of plurality so emphatically opposed by the upanishadic writers arise at all?... Consciousness finds itself intimately connected with and dependent on the physical state of a limited region of matter - the body… The only possible alternative is simply to keep the immediate experience that consciousness is a singular of which that plural is unknown, that there is only one thing and that, what seems to be a plurality, is merely a series of different aspects of this one thing produced by a deception (Indian māyā).[21] Similar view has also been seen in the 4th chapter of his book *My View of the World.*

Here Schroedinger has delivered this statement in support of monism. Commenting on this view, B. K. Jagdish states that consciousness is never experienced in the plural, only in the singular. He shows the error committed here is that Schroedinger is taking *consciousness* and *conscious entities* as one and the same, whereas the fact is that these are two different entities.

To illustrate this point further, B. K. Jagdish gives an example of fragrance and flowers. Fragrance in general sense, is one or singular; but the fragrant flowers – roses, jasmine, lotus etc. are different and many or plural. Each one of these varieties has fragrance in singular; but each one of the flowers is also different from others. If, therefore, we keep in mind that consciousness finds manifestation in the forms of thoughts, desires, emotions, memory, judgment etc. and these are different from one to the other individual, then we wouldn't say that souls are not plural. Schroedinger has, therefore, been wrong in identifying souls with consciousness and there too, he has lost sight of the fact that even 'consciousness' as manifested in each individual case, is not the same and therefore, not singular.[22]

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v. Thomas Huxley, British biologist and Darwinist has said that I understand the main tenet of materialism to be that there is nothing in the universe but matter and force, two primitive factors... It seems to me pretty plain that there is a third thing in the universe, to wit, consciousness, which.. I cannot see to be matter or force or any conceivable modification of either. Thus according to him consciousness is not a material force.[23]

vi. Sir John C. Eccles in his book *Self and its Brain* says that the experienced unity (of consciousness or mind) comes not from a neuro-physiological synthesis, but from the proposed integrating character of the self-conscious mind. He made his firm opinion that self or consciousness is not an epiphenomenon of the brain.[24]

vii. Performing many experiments by stimulating various sites or points on the brain, scientist Penfield came to the conclusion that consciousness is located near the hypothalamus and the brainstem and it is not an epiphenomenon of the brain.[25]

viii. Dr. Raymond A. Moody, in his book *Life After Life* conducting research on *the clinically dead* describes that the soul, the self or the conscious entity doesn't die with the body; but rather survives after the body has been disposed of.[26]

In this way, modern philosophers and scientists have elaborated much on the area of consciousness with their enlightened views or statements. Now the disposition of Brahmakumārīs depicted with illustrations logically and meaningfully by Brahmakumār Jagdish Chander, is being discussed here.

Brahmakumārīs' View

According to Brahmakumārīs' philosophy, consciousness is an essential and inherent attribute of the metaphysical energy called soul, different from the organic and inorganic matter, body and the brain. As electricity is known by various names depending upon its different manifestations such as light, power, heat and electro-magnetic force, so also consciousness manifests itself in various forms and is named as mind, intellect, memory, emotion, impression (saṃskāra) and so on.

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Ego, mind, intellect etc. are not material in nature;[27] but the very consciousness or the soul-energy becomes manifest as thoughts, memory etc. as it comes in contact with the material body.[28] The conscient soul functions through consciousness; but the brain limits it and enables it to have an experience of only three-dimensional objects, while without this limiting faculty, the self can have multi-dimensional experience and exceptional insight.[29] The soul does have an aura which appears in the form of subtle body, having different brightness depending upon the degree of its purity. The self or soul is a point of light which is spiritual in nature, divine in its original potential scintillating with seven divine qualities – knowledge, purity, happiness, peace, love, bliss and power, and is different from the mundane light.[30]

Souls (ātmā) originally dwell in the soul-world or brahmaloka, i.e. far beyond this material world with the parent or supreme soul (paramātmā or īśvara) in the incorporeal, inactive, thoughtless and calm state. But when they come down to this earth and take birth they become known as individual souls (jīvātmā). Within body, soul resides in between the two eye-brows, the central point of the hypothalamus, peneal and pituitary glands and from there it controls the brain and the whole body. Souls are plural and are not parts of God. All souls are eternal sons of God. In the state of liberation or release, the soul does not merge into God, who has his separate identity. God or paramātmā is also a soul, a point of spiritual energy, but He is supreme among all souls and is not bounded by any action and its reactions. He is beyond the limitation of birth and death. He is omnipotent, omniscient and ocean of all divine qualities e.g. knowledge, bliss, peace, purity etc., but is not omnipresent or all-pervasive entity like the brahman of monists. Souls are numerous, individual and immortal. Therefore, the analogies of sparks to fire and rosary etc. given by Advaita Vedāntins, are erroneous or fallacious.[31]

All the knowledge, namely science, is a result of a person's abilities that are only manifestations of consciousness at various levels. Consciousness is the first or the prime reality; for, without it, all the realities and laws - physical, chemical, mechanical etc. would remain unknown. It is consciousness that knows and can know, or learns and can learn. Consciousness is the knower (jñātā), while the material forms

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of reality or the events and phenomena belong to the realm of known or knowable (jñeya). The use and purposes of material forms are determined by the knower, consciousness, and it is the consciousness who experiences or consumes the physical things. So there is vast difference between 'I or self' and the matter i.e. material, physical, phenomenal or transient. It is 'I' or consciousness that makes continuity possible in life and without it, all would be meaningless, purposeless, useless and worthless.[32]

Consciousness is not observable and quantifiable; hence it is out of the scope of science. Therefore, either science should enlarge its scope or it can be studied in the discipline called spiritual science or meta science. Consciousness is the other name for the self. We give it the label consciousness in order to distinguish it from all that which doesn't have consciousness, i.e. which cannot think, judge, remember, analyze, focus, decide and do such other mental, intellectual or emotional activities. Each one of us is an individual self. Consciousness has a moral dimension. All our actions or efforts have some motives underlying them and we employ some means to reach our goals or to attain certain ends. Motives determine our attitudes and outlook and influence our behaviours that are related to values or ethical principles. In other words, consciousness has another aspect, namely conscience.[33]

In conclusion, B. K. Jagdish clearly points out that if any philosophy denies the existence of soul or self as a separate conscious entity, then it leads to peacelessness. The learned ones in science try to discover without; but they do not try to know the self i.e. within. Without the scientific knowledge of the self, one would have only a distorted, incomplete or fractured and fragmented world-view.[34]

Conclusion

From the above discussions, it can be maintained that consciousness or spiritual energy is quite different from the material forms of energy manifested in the mundane world. The super-mundane entity soul, self, spirit or psyche is eternally existent and conscient in its nature and acts and reacts to the stimuli and also thinks, feels and reaps the fruits of its actions. Hence, one should always endeavour to recognize one's own true identity i.e. divine, pure, conscient, infinitesimal point of metaphysical

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energy giving up identification with the physical or the material, then that paves the way towards perfection and by acquiring the completely true knowledge of self, supreme self and the Universe, one should approach to a holistic world-view.

Notes

1. *S. B., Pra. Upa.*, 6.2
2. *'Na hi kevalasyātmano bhoktṛtvam asti, buddhyādyupādhikṛtameva tasya bhoktṛtvam.' S. B. Kaṭha Upa.* 1.3.4
3. *'Tadveda ātmasvarūpam brahma niratiśayam bhūmākhyam brahmeti viddhi.' S. B. Kena Upa.* 1.5
4. *'Ekasyaiva tu bhedavyavahāra upādhikṛtaḥ, yathā ghaṭākāśo mahākāśa iti.' S. B., Bra. Sū,* 1.2.20
5. *S. B., Māṇḍū. Kārikā*, 3.7
6. *'Paramārthastu na jīvo nāma buddhyupādhiparikalpitasvarūpavyatirekāsti.', S. B, Bra. Sū,* 2.3.30
7. *Ghaṭādiṣu pralīneṣu ghaṭākāśādayo yathā ,*
   Ākāśe sampralīyante tadvajjīvā ihātmani . S. B., Māṇḍū. Kārikā, 3.4
8. *The Eternal World Drama*, pp. 16-17
9. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol-1, p. 363
10. Ibid, Vol-3, p. 269
11. *Parallels between Science & Religion and Philosophy & Science– A Critical Review*, pp. 39-40
12. *Eternal Drama of Souls, Matter and God*, Part-1, pp. 53-54
13. *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science*, p. 12
14. *Parallels between Science & Religion and Philosophy & Science – A Critical Review*, p. 47
15. *Symmetries and Reflections*, p. 189
16. *Mysticism and the New Physics*, p. 33
17. Ibid, p. 34
18. *Parallels between Science & Religion and Philosophy & Science– A Critical Review*, p. 48
19. *The Turning Point*, p. 88
20. *Parallels between Science & Religion and Philosophy & Science– A Critical Review*, p. 46
21. *What is Life*, pp. 88-89
22. *Parallels between Science & Religion and Philosophy & Science– A Critical Review*, p.. 43
23. *Do You Know Your Real Self*, p. 51
24. Ibid, p. 51
25. Ibid, p. 51-52
26. Ibid, p. 53
27. *Eternal Drama of Souls, Matter and God*, Part-1, p. 28-29
28. *Do You Know Your Real Self*, p. 22-23
29. *Eternal Drama of Souls, Matter and God*, Part-1, p. 44-45

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30. *Do You Know Your Real Self*, p. 23
31. *Eternal Drama of Souls, Matter and God*, Part-1, p. 202, 207, 222, 238-241
32. *Complementarity of Science and Spirituality for better life*, p. 3-4
33. Ibid, p. 4-6
34. Ibid, p. 5, *Eternal Drama of Soles, Matter and God* Pt.1 p.69

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11

वडोदरानगरस्य गिरधरकवेः रामायणम्

मुकुन्द वडेक्कर

आदिकवेर्वाल्मीकस्य रामायणं सुप्रसिद्धं वर्तते। तस्याधारेणं बहुभिः कविभिः संस्कृतभाषायां विविधभारतीयभाषासु च रामकथाया विस्तारो विविधपरिवर्तनसहितो विहितः। स्वस्वप्रदेशप्रचलितपरम्परानुसारेण रामकथाया विवरणं स्वकीयकाव्य-नाटकादिषु कविभिः कृतम्। आनन्दरामायणम्, अध्यात्मरामयाणं, भुषुण्डीरामायणं, रामचरितमानसं, कृत्तिवासरामायणं, कम्बरामायणं, भावार्थरामायणं, हनुमन्नाटकं, महावीरचरितम्, उत्तररामचरितम्, प्रतिमानाटकम्, अभिषेकनाटकं, रघुवंशम् - इत्यादिषु रामकथा विवर्णिता।

वडोदरानगरस्य ललामभूतेन गिरधरनामकेन कविनापि सम्पूर्णं काव्यबद्धं सङ्गीतरसपरिप्लुतं रामायणं विरचितम्। गिरधरदासः कविः पादरा-जनपदस्य मासर-ग्रामे ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य १७८७ वर्षे दशलाड-वणिक् ज्ञात्यां जन्म प्राप। स्वकीयजीवनस्योत्तरे काले प्रायेण ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य १८२० अनन्तरं स वडोदरानगर एव निवासं चकार।

> वैश्य वर्णमां जन्म ज धरियो वीरक्षेत्रमां वास जी;
> वणिक ज्ञाति दशालाडनी, वैष्णव गिरिधरदास जी.
>
> उत्तरकांड ११२. ४१

गरबडदासस्यायं पुत्रः। सदा कङ्कु-नामकं भगिनीद्वयं तस्यासीत् तयोः स ज्येष्ठो भ्राता। पुरुषोत्तममहाराजस्तस्य गुरुर्येन काव्यशास्त्रं तस्मै पाठितम्। निरक्षरेणापि तेन वाल्मीकिरामायणं, महाभारतं, हरिवंशं, भागवतादिपुराणानि, हुनुमन्नाटकं, नारदपञ्चरात्रम् अध्यात्मरामायणम्, आनन्दरामायणम्-इत्यादीनां समीचीनं ज्ञानं सम्प्राप्तम्। संस्कृत-हिन्दी गुर्जरभाषाणां सम्यग्ज्ञानं तस्यासीत्। ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य १८५२ वर्षे स्वकीयस्य ६५ आयुर्वर्षे भाद्रपदमासि तस्य स्वर्गवासः समजनि। गिरधरकृतं सङ्गीतरामायणं सर्वे समाजबान्धवा इस्लामधर्मीया अपि महतानन्देन गृहे गृहे गायन्ति स्म। वडोदरानगरस्यापरः कविः प्रेमानन्द आख्यानकारः सुप्रसिद्धः। तस्यानन्तरं तस्य प्रभावभारितोऽयमपि व्याख्यानकारः कविश्च।

गिरधरदासेन पञ्चदशाधिका आख्यानकाव्यग्रन्था गुर्जरभाषायां प्रणीताः। दाणलीला-श्रीकृष्णजन्मवर्णन-राधाकृष्णनो रासो-प्रह्लादचरित्र-ग्रीष्म-ऋतुनी लीला-तुलसीविवाह-राजसूययज्ञ-रामायण-कृष्णचरित्र-गोकुललीला-मधुरालीला-द्वारकालीला-जन्माष्टमीनो सोहेलो- नरसिंहचतुदशीनी वधाई-राधिकाविहारद्वादशमास-विविधपदानि च। सप्तकाण्डविभक्ते तस्य गुर्जररामायणे २९९ अध्यायास्तथा ९५५१ चोपाई-श्लोका वर्तन्ते।

> वाल्मीकि रामायणनो अर्थ, मांहे नाटक कृतहनुमंत जी;
> ते थकी भाषा ग्रंथ कार्यो छे, लेई दृष्टांत अनंत जी,

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पद्मपुराण ने अग्निपुराणनो, मेलव्यो मांहे संबंध जी;
अल्पबुद्धि ते माटे कंई अेक, कर्युं प्राकृत पदबंध जी.
उत्तरकांड ११२.२५-२६

गिरधरेणेदं स्वकीयं रामायणं वाल्मीकि-रामायण-हनुमन्नाटक-पद्मपुराण-अग्निपुराणादि-ग्रन्थानामाधारेण विरचितमिति तेनोपर्युक्तेषु श्लोकेषु स्पष्टतया निवेदितम्। स्वकृतिरचनासमयोऽपि तेन स्पष्टतया कथितः। शके १७५८, १८९३ संवत्सरे १८३६ ख्रिस्ताब्दे धनसंक्रान्त्यां हेमन्त-ऋतौ, मार्गशीर्षमासस्य कृष्णपक्षस्य नवम्यां तिथौ, रविवासरे, मध्याह्ने चित्रानक्षत्रे शुक्रयोगे, वणिज-करणे, कुम्भलग्ने, अभिजित्-मुहूर्ते रामायणग्रन्थस्य पूर्णतां समजनि। एतेन तस्य ज्योतिषशास्त्रप्रावीण्यं दृश्यते।

शाके सत्तरसें अठ्ठावन, धन संक्रान्ति त्यांहे जी;
संवत् अष्टादशत्रिनेवुं, हेमन्त ऋतुनी मांहे जी.
मार्गशीर्ष कृष्ण पक्ष नौमी तिथि, रविवासर दिन मध्य जी;
चित्रा नक्षत्र योग शुक्रमां, वणिज करण समर्थ जी.
कुम्भ लग्न अभिजित् मुहुरतमां, ग्रंथ पूरण थयो अेह जी.
उत्तरकांड ११२.३१-३३

रामायणकथायां नैकानि परिवर्तनानि परिवर्धनानि च तेन स्वकीयरामायणे कृतानि। बालकाण्ड एव रामचरित्रप्रसङ्गे रावणचरित्रकथा तथा हनुमज्जन्मकथा च विवर्णिता। बालकाण्डे रामस्य निखिलभारतस्य तीर्थयात्राया वर्णनं नवीनं वर्तते। वसिष्ठ-ऋषिणा साकमरम्यगमनात्पूर्वं रामस्यात्मज्ञानविषयिणी पृच्छा विवरणं च योगवासिष्ठस्य विषयः कविना बालकाण्डे समन्वितः। अहल्योद्धारप्रसङ्गे प्रायेण वर्ण्यते यत् - रामपदस्पर्शेन शिलारूपिण्या अहल्याः समुद्धारः समभवत्। कविना गिरधरेण तद्विशिष्टरूपेण वर्णितम्। तत्र न रामपदस्पर्शः, किन्तु रामस्य पदधूलिः पवनवेगेन शिलारूपिण्या अहल्याया उपरि पतिता। तत्स्पर्शात् सा पवित्रिता, पुनः स्वस्वरूपं च प्राप्ता। आनन्दरामायणोक्तस्य पद्माक्षीरूपिण्याः सीताया पूर्वचरित्रस्य वर्णनं कविना स्वीकृतम्। देवानामिदं रावणवधार्थं पूर्वायोजनं यद्रावणश्छायारूपिण्याः सीतायाः, न तु मूलस्वरूपिण्याः सीताया अपहरणं रावणद्वारा कारितम्। रावणस्तु तन्न जानाति। प्रायेणेदं मन्यते यत् - रामनामाङ्किताः शिलारामभक्तैर्वानरैर्निक्षिप्ताः सागरे, तेन च सेतुः सागरोपरि समजनि। भक्तहृदयः कविर्निश्चयेनेदं मन्यते यदिदं न सयुक्तिकम्। यतो हि रामभक्तैर्वानरै रामनामलिखितशिलानिर्मितसेतोरुपरि पदन्यासो न युक्तः। अतः स वर्णयति यद् वानरैः शिलाप्रक्षेपणसमये शिलाया उपरि रामनाम न लिखितम्, किन्तु रामनामोच्चारणमात्रं कृतम्, शिलान्यासश्च कृतः।

केटलाक कवि गहे छे लख्युं, पाषाण ऊपर रामनाम,
पण अे असंभव वात छे, नव करे अेवुं काम.
सहु कपि उपासक रामान, महा अनन्य कहीअे जेह,
रामनाम उपर चरण मूकी, केम चाले तेह.

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हनुमन्नाटकमां कह्युं छे, कहुं जथारथ तेह,
मुखे रामनाम स्मरण करी, मल मूकतो पाषाण.
सुंदरकांड - २१.२८-३१

गुर्जरप्रदेशस्य मारु-मेवाडा-सोरठ-सामरी-आदीनां विविधप्रादेशिकसङ्गीतरागाणां तेन स्वकाव्ये विनियोगः कृतः। गुर्जरप्रदेशस्य केचनाचाराः स्वकाव्ये प्रसङ्गानुरूपं समवेशिताः। यथा - मङ्गलकार्ये पत्रस्योपरि कुङ्कुमप्रक्षेपः गणपति-गोत्रजपूजनम्, वधूपरयोर्हरिद्रालेपनम् मस्तकस्योपरि मोड-परिधानेन सह रामणदीपकसहितं महिलानां वरयात्रायामनुगमनम्, मधुरस्य कंसारस्य भक्षणम्।

कुमकुमे छाटी पत्र बीड्यो - बाल. ३९.१९
गणपति पधराविया, जे सकल मंगलरूप
गोत्रज केरी स्थापनाकरि, - बाल. ४१.२
पीठी चोली अंग - बाल. ४१.३
मोड बांधी माताओ रे चालती, ग्रही नामणदीवो हाथ, - बाल. ४१.५. पृ.११९
आरोग्या कंसार - बाल. ४१.२१

गुर्जरभाषायां वडोदरायां गिरधरेण विरचितमिदं रामायणं काव्यसौन्दर्येण, सङ्गीतमाधुर्येण, रामकथानावीन्येनातिवाभूतपूर्वमस्तीति नास्ति संशयलेशोऽपि। रामकथायां रामचरित्रलेखने कवेरपूर्वं योगदानं सदेव गुर्जरसाहित्येऽविस्मरणीयं वर्तते।

सन्दर्भग्रन्थाः

१. जोशी, देवदत्त, कवि गिरधर जीवन अने कवन (गुजराती) श्री सयाजी साहित्यमाला क्र. ३५९, प्राच्य विद्यामन्दिर, वडोदरा, १९८२

२. श्री गिरधरकृत रामायण (गुजराती) सस्तु साहित्यवर्धक कार्यालय, अमदावाद, १९५०

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12

Swami Narayan to Swami Chinmayananda: A Look at Indian Spiritual Legacy

T. P. Sankarankutty Nair

The spread of Indian culture and influence among peoples distributed over a large part of the earth's surface is one of the momentous factors of world history. China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, and Tibet received from India a substantial part of their religious and artistic culture; Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Indo-China and Siam are indebted to her for their existence as civilized nations and Ceylon, though politically separate, is culturally only a part of India.

The region where the Indian influence is notable in extent, strength, and duration is South Asia and Ceylon. Here that influence manifested in religion, philosophy, literature, art and architecture, and customs and manners. That influence was not merely cultural, but political also. Historians often describe this area between metropolitan India and the Chinese southern border as 'Further India' or 'Greater India'. It is to the French and Dutch archaeologists that we owe our knowledge of the great Indian achievements in South East Asia[1].

Commerce and Colonization

Why and when did the civilization of India spread across the Bay of Bengal into South East Asia? Available evidence suggests that India had a measure of contact with South Asia by sea and presumably, by land; centuries before the christian era. There must have been a great volume of trade, for there are innumerable references in such early Indian works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to the islands of the East Indies, and to Indian commercial enterprise in the region. Kataha (Modern Kedah in Malaya), Karpaṇadvīpa (Camphor Island), Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), Yavadvīpa (Barley Island or modern Java), are all names current in such works. Stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* suggest that it was usual for Indians to go to the East Indies and grow rich[2].

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Trade led to, and in turn was encouraged by, colonization and settlement in both island and mainland South East Asia. There were in Malaya, Indian Colonies which exploited tin and gold mines. Trading communities were followed by small bands of adventurous migrants who left the Indian shores in search of fame and fortune. Kṣatriya princes dispossessed of their kingdoms in India sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi to restore their fortunes. These colonists married locally and were, in all probability, assimilated in the local populations. In the wake of peaceful commercial intercourse arose the Hindu Kingdoms of South East Asia.

Cultural Imperialism

Establishment of Hindu Kingdoms did not mean imperial control of these far-flung regions from India. It was 'cultural imperialism'. This, as Prof. Neelakantha Sastri points out, meant the wide currency that Indian language and script, ideas and beliefs, and customs and manners, obtained in the lands annexed to civilization and progress by Hindu merchants, missionaries, soldiers and political adventures[3]. This cultural dominion lasted for about fifteen hundred years before it finally succumbed to the onslaught of Islam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Impact of Indian Culture in South-Asia

India has left an indelible mark on the religion, politics, language, art and architecture and customs of South-Asia. Even such details of ordinary life as folklore, dance, and puppet shows of the region provide evidence of long contact with India.

Religion

The religion, social institutions and customs of India were all transplanted among the virgin races of South-Asia. The Brahmanical religion of both the Saivite and Vaishnavite types flourished in the South East Asian colonies, and Buddhism co-existed with them as in metropolitan India[4]. Brahmanical religious practices like performance of sacrifices, gift of cows to Brāhmaṇas, munificence to learned and holy men and royal patronage of religious literature were all usual in the Indian colonies of South-East Asia. Āśram life was in vogue, as in Cambodia, where great sages like Iśānadatta and Vidyāvinaya flourished. Hindu religious texts

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like the *Vedas,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were venerated and read, and other works like Pāṇini's grammar, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya, Suśruta Saṃhitā,* Vedānta, Yoga, and Nyāya texts, the *Arthaśāstra,* and the Dharmaśāstras were studied. The Indo-Khmer culture of Cambodia offers one of the finest examples in history of cultural assimilation. And Bāli has arrogantly preserved its Hindu religion and culture down to our own day[5].

Since there was continuous contact between the colonies and the mother country the South Asian regions were greatly influenced by developments in Indian religious ideas. Pilgrimages to Indian religious centres like Nalanda were made by the Buddhists of South Asia. It is thus that we account for the strong late Gupta or Pala influence in the Mahayanism as well as in the architecture of South Asia. It was Guṇavarman, a prince-monk of Kashmir, who converted the Hindu king of Java and his mother to Buddhism (C 424 AD). In the same fifth century we see Buddhaghoṣa from India visiting Thaton in Burma and strengthening Hinayanism. I-tsting, the great Chinese pilgirm, stayed in Śri Vijaya for six months and studied Sanskrit grammar. He says that the Buddhist monks in Sumatra, more than a thousand in number, investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the middle Kingdom (India)". Dharmapāla of Nalanda visited Sumatra. The Śailendras were Mahāyāna Buddhists[6]. They derived their religious inspiration from Bengal which was then the Chief Centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. In the eleventh century Atisa of the Vikramaśila University studied Buddhism in Sumatra for about ten years.

The two major developments in the religious life of South Asia in the thirteenth century were both indirect products of the Indian influence. The first of these was that Theravāda Buddhism established itself as the dominant religion in mainland South East Asia in Burma, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia[7]. At the same time, in Malaya, Indonesia and Champa, Islam began to spread. But the actual conversion of South East Asian populations to Islam on a significant scale did not begin until the thirteenth century when Indian Muslim merchants from Gujarat or Bengal brought the faith with them as their ancestors had brought the Hindu or Buddhist religions[8].

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Society

Chinese annals give us some idea of the peaceful fusion of the Indian colonists with the native races of South East Asia, and of the introduction of Indian laws and institutions among them. A Chinese record informs us about a dependency of Funan that "more than five thousand Brahmins from India reside there. The people follow their doctrines and give their daughters in marriage"[9]. Again, a Chinese history tells us in a second Kauṇḍinya story: "The people of Funnan heard of him (Kauṇḍinya) and the whole kingdom was stirred with joy. They came to him and chose him king. He changed all the rules according to the methods of India"[10].

Names of persons and of places were entirely Hinduised, so were the laws and institutions. Such a transformation of society into the Hindu pattern required the introduction of the caste system as well as the rituals and practices associated with Brahmanical worship. The existence of the caste system in South Asia is vouched for by inscriptions and other records. Much of Malay and Indonesian court ceremonial, customs, and rules of marriage can be traced without difficulty back to the days of Hindu and Buddhist dominance[11].

Language, Script and Literature

Sanskrit was used in the South Asian colonies for religious ceremonies, court ceremonial and administrative purposes. Sanskrit classics were widely known and read in South East Asia. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras, Pāṇini's grammar and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* were all popular.

In due course such works came to be translated into the native tongues. For example, the *Mahābhārata,* and the Sanskrit lexicon, the *Amaramālā,* were translated into Javanese. Eventually, Sanskrit enriched the native languages and thus helped their growth. Such vernacular literatures were based no doubt on the old Indian tradition. In Java, a national literature emerged from the fertilizing contact of Sanskrit with the native tongue. To such a development could be traced the beginnings of the Old Javanese or Kavi literature (879-927 A.D.) Great works like the *Rāmāyaṇa, Arjunavivāha, Kṛṣṇayāna,*

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Bhāratayuddha and the legal treatise *Śivaśāsana* were produced in this national Javanese literature[12].

South Asian Languages like Malay and Javanese contain an important proportion of words of Sanskritic or Dravidian origin. And languages like Thai are still in scripts which are clearly derived from Indian models[13].

The traditional dance and shadow, puppet theatres in Thailand, Malaya and Java continue to fascinate their audiences with the adventures of Rāma and Sītā, and Hanumān. Islamic peasants of the region continue to be entertained by stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bāli is a living record of South East Asia's Hindu past.

South Asian concepts of kingship and authority owe much to ancient Hindu political theory and practice. The Thai monarchy, though following Hīnayāna Buddhism, still requires the presence of court Brāhmaṇas for the proper performance of its ceremonials. Indian medicine, the Āyurveda, was practiced in South Asia just as in India. Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha, two specialists in Āyurveda, were the court physicians and ministers of the Cambodian king, Rudra Varman (C.570 A.D.). King Yaśovarman of Kambuja is said to have mastered the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*[14].

Art and Architecture: Angkor Vat, Borobudur, and Prambanam

Angkor Vat is in every sense a wonder of the world. This stupendous edifice is a shrine originally dedicated to Viṣṇu. The structure as a whole is one of terraces, spires, and towers. Each of the three terraces is a covered gallery, adorned throughout with sculptures. The eight towers at the four angles of the third and the last gallery are each 180 feet high while the high tower of the central shrine is 213 feet above the ground level. The style of architecture is Dravidian. The sculptures of Angkor Vat illustrate the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata,* and the *Harivaṃśa.* They depict scenes like Rāma chasing Mārīca, the battle between Bāli and Sugrīva, the fire ordeal of Sītā, Kṛṣṇa raising up the Govardhana, *Kāmadahana* and the *Pālāzhimathana.* The Angkor Vat relief's are, according to Ananda Coomaraswamy, spiritually greater that that of Borobudur.'[15]

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Another great collection of Khmer architecture could be found in Angkor Thorn, the capital city founded by King Jayavarma VII. The City is square in shape, each side measuring more than two miles. It is surrounded by a moat 330 feet wide and enclosed by a high stone wall. The centre of the City is occupied by the grand temple, Bayon. The Bayon is a pyramidal structure of three stages, adorned with nearly forty towers. The central tower dominating the whole structure is 150 feet high[16]. Angkor Thorn was one of the grandest cities of the world in that age.

The Buddhist Śailendras were great builders too and Borobudur stands as the living monument of their piety, grandeur, and magnificence. This noble building, situated on top a hill, consists of a series of nine successive terraces, crowned by a bellshaped stupe at the centre of the topmost terrace. As the pilgrim ascends the monument, he gets the impression of a spiritual ascent. Borobudur contains two thousand bas-reliefs or stone pictures, two miles long if they are placed continuously side by side[17]. They described the life of the Buddha as described by the *Lalita Vistara.* Borobudur is an epic in stone, the most wonderful Buddhist stūpa in the world[18]. Aptly has it been referred to as the eighth wonder of the world.

The restoration period in Java (879-927 A.D.) saw the erection of many Brahmanical temples, the greatest of them being a group of eight temples at Lara Jongrang (Prambanam Central Java). The largest structure in the group is the one dedicated to Śiva while the others are in honour of Brahma and Viṣṇu. These edifices on the hill are on the stupendous scale of Borobudur; their sculptures illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa* are, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, superior to those of Borobudur[19].

The great glory of Pagan in Burma is associated with the Anawrahtas, the dynasty of temple builders. More than five thousand pāgoḍās or temples could be counted from among the ruins of Pagan[20]. Some of them are famous for their sculptures and wall paintings. They illustrate the life of the Buddha, and reveal extensive Indian influence. The colonial and cultural expansion of India is one of the most brilliant, but forgotten episodes of Indian history.

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Culture - Indian Impact:

It is in religion and culture far more than in politics that India has laid an indelible mark on Ceylon. Ceylon which is Sri Lanka or Simhaladvīpa is celebrated in Vālmīkis immortal epic and Tamil works refer to the island as Ilam. The Ceylonese belong to one or the other of the two major religions of India - Hinduism and Buddhism - and there is still a strong and influential minority of Tamil Indians living in the island. Simhalese as a language is related to Pāli, and it is written in a script which was originally derived from Brāhmī.[21]

As in religion, so in art, Ceylon is merely an extension of the Indian sub-continent. To the close of the fifth century belong the famous paintings of Sigiriya. In motif and in style the Sigiriya paintings belong to the school of Ajanta. Despite fourteen hundred years of exposure to the vagaries of nature and the vicissitudes of history, the paintings preserve to this day their "penetrating sensuality". The eleven-and-half-foot statue of Parākramabāhu the Great, representing him as a dignified barded sage reading from a palm-leaf book, is adjudged by Coomaraswamy as "one of the finest sculptures in Ceylon". The copper images of Hindu gods and goddesses and of Tamil saints like Appār, Sambandār, Sundarār and Manickavasāgar are not only worthy of note, but some of them are, affirms Coomaraswamy, "Superior to any South Indian example."[22]

The Mahayanist conquest of Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan:

We have seen how Buddhism along with Hinduism raised Ceylon and South East Asia to a high level of civilization and culture. The rest of Asia-Tibet, Turkestan, China, Korea and Japan-received through the Buddhist medium as much civilization, as it could digest. The cultural zenith of most of these nations came from the stimulus of Buddhist ideas, Buddhist literature, and Buddhist arts.[23] Thus, as a time when the Buddhist faith was losing hold on the land of its birth, it was winning nearly all the reminder of the Asiatic world.

The growth of Buddhism after Aśoka was the growth from the simple, austere, and rational message of Buddha, the Reformer, into the majestic, popular, and credulous religion of Buddha, the Redeemer. In the

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Mahāyāna or the Greater Vehicle, the Buddha became a divine being surrounded by angels and saints. As the Reformer became the Redeemer, ritual replaced preaching and morality, and a promising heaven and a threatening hell appeared. The new theology centred on the *Bodhisattvas* or future Buddhas who helped others on earth to find the way.[24] With its ritual, myths, miracles, ceremonies and saints Mahayanism came to have all the colour and drama of a triumphant faith. The crude though popular Pāli was abandoned in favour of the majestic classical Sanskrit in which Aśvaghoṣa, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and a score of others issued a wealth of poetic, philosophical, and scholastic literature[25].

The coming of Islam brought about great changes in the religious and social outlook of the Hindus. Hinduism had in the past absorbed the Greeks, the Huns, the Śakas and the Kuśāns within its fold. However it failed to absorb the Muslims. Islam split Indian society into two sections from top to bottom. They were fundamentally different from each other at every stage. At the same time there was a continous process of conversion from Hinduism to Islam and the Hindu religion had to be as the defensive. The Islamic message of universal brotherhood and social equality and rejection of the caste system and untouchability naturally attracted the lower sections of the Hindu society to Islam[26]. This new development emphasized the urgent need for purging Hindu religion and society of all evil practices. In the circumstances Hinduism had to accept the challenge of Islam and naturally new doctrines and religious movements arose with a view to strengthening Hindu society and religion[27].

The religious movement of this period was opposed to rituals and was based on the doctrine of bhakti or devotion to one God. This movement was the immediate and direct outcome of the impact of Islam.[28] Ādi Śaṅkara (788-820) born in Kerala was a notable Philosopher theologian and ācārya who set the dominant term not only of Hindus but of all mankind in the right perspective. An ardent Śiva devotee Śaṅkara gave a shock treatment to the followers of Jainism, Buddhism, Islam and Christanity in South India.[29] In those days these religions made inroads into the chunk of Hindu Indian and with him began the Bhakti movement.[30] Rāmānuja (1017-1137), Nimbārkācārya (1028-

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-1125) Kabīr (1398-1448), Guru Nānāk (1469-1538) and others provided a base for this[31]. Kabīr and Nānāk had imparted to the Bhakti movement a non-sectarian character and outlook. However, Vallabhācārya (1479-1531), Chaitanya (1485-1533) Mīrābāi, Tukārām (1609-1649) Rāmadās etc. revived Hindu bhakti in subsequent centuries[32]. This Bhakti cult in a way helped Rāja Rām Mohan Roy (1774-1833) and other socio-religious reformers to modernize India rather than bring about a Renaissance or Reformation. Long before Rāja Rām Mohan Roy started the work towards the so called Indian religious and social awakening many others like Swami Narayan of Gujarat laid the way strong for a socio-cultural modernization[33].

And in the case of Kerala many socio-religious leaders with a religious halo spearheaded the movement for social emancipation of the downtrodden like Vidyadhiraja Chattambi Swamikal, Sree Narayana Guru etc. not to speak of others like British Resident John Munro, Vaikunthaswamikal, Ayyagura Arattupuzha Velayudha Panikker, Brahmananda Sivayogi, Dr. P. Palpu, Ayyankali, Vaghbhatananda, Sahodaran Ayyappan, K. P. Vallon, K. P. Karuppan, C. Krishna Pillai, Changanassery Parameswaran Pillai, Vakkom Maulavi, George Joseph, T. K. Madhavan, and Barrister G. Parameswaran Pillai[34]. These saintly persons led a non-Brahmin and anti-Brahmin movement in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar in the 19th and 20th centuries[35]. Dr. T . M. Nair and E. V. Ramaswami Naicker (Periyar) led the anti-Brahmin social agitation in Tamil Nadu.

While Swami Narayan led the movement in and around the rivers Yamunā and the Sārānāth leaders of the far South were rejuvenated by the waters of the Pampā, the Bhārata Puzha, the Periyar, the Vaigai, the Cauvery and the Tāmraparṇi.[36] Infact major river systems in and around the Ganges, the Indus, the Godavari, the Mahanadi, the Krishna, the Brahmaputra, the Narmada reinvigourated other founder fathers like Rāja Rām Mohan Roy, Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang, Dayananda Saraswathi, Jtotiba Phule and Dr. Ambedkar[37].

Swami Narayan Cult:

Swami Narayana (1781-1830) spearheaded a socio-spiritual renaissance in Gujarat by eradicating the sati custom, superstitions, animal sacrifices

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in yajñas and immoral practices. He was a torch bearer of Indian culture, reviving the pristine traditions of Hinduism by establishing mandirs for bhakti and worship. He transformed the lawless people and elevated aspirants to the state of self realization and God realization[38]. This made people to adore him as a God and his successor Akṣara brahma Gunatitananda Swami popularized his Guru's teachings all over India and the world by establishing a global network of 11000 satsaṅg centres with 55000 youth and over eight hundered Sadhu saints.[39] Akshardhams in Gandhinagar in Gujarat and New Delhi are today global spiritual centres with a social commitment to liberate suffering millions.[40]

It was on the 3rd April of 1781 that Swami Narayan was born at Chhapiya in Ayodhya (UP) as the son of Hariprasad. Pande and Premavati, both Sarvaria Brahmins. At the age of nine he completed the study of all vedic texts under the guidance of his father. By expounding the viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy of Rāmānuja in a lucid manner, Swami Narayan convinced the pandits of its practical soundness compared to other philosophies. After the death of his parents in 1792, he renounced home and embarked on a journey throughout India to resanctify holy places and redeem countless aspirants performing austerities to attain the supreme Reality. This journey to redeem, known as Kalyān yātrā, all over India covering 187 sacred shrines down to Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) made him a new man rejecting all mundane gifts.[41] During his spiritual visits he felt a need to get correct answers to the questions of his mind about the five eternal answers to the question of his mind about the five eternal realities: jīva, īśvar, māyā, Brahman and Parabrahma. But only in Loj near Mangrol in Southern Saurashtra he received good answers which appealed to his heart on the 21st August 1799 from Swami Muktanand, a senior Sādhu at the Ramanand Swami Asram. The Loj visit and the good answers which he received put an end to his seven year old Kalyān yātrā in which he walked over twelve thousand kilometers. No eleven year old boy could even envisage such a strenuous journey. Ramananda Swami initiated this boy swami as Sahajanand who later on became Swami Narayanan.[42]

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Swami Narayan who is treated by many as another incarnation of Viṣṇu was the first powerful personality in India to abolish boldly several obnoxious social and religious practices then prevalent. He convinced the people of Kathiawad to shun the sinful practice of female infanticide. He exhorted people to forsake the practice of Sati-the immolation of the wife with her dead husband. He offered to depray the heavy dowry incurred in marriages[43].

Instead of singing obscene songs, women were encouraged to sings *Rukmiṇī Vivāha.* Animal offerings were forbidden in the yajñas which he initiated. Instead of gambling people were encouraged to devote time for prayers to extoll God, Lord Krishna. Swami Narayana also elevated the status of women and made them equal to men[44]. Even the Collector of Baroda (of the Sayajirao's court) Williamson appreciated this type of efforts made by the Swami which in turn earned respect and status for women.[45]

The report of british residents in various courts made Sir John Malcom, Governor of Bombay, to meet the Swami on the 26th February 1830 during his Rajkot visit. The political agent of Rajkot D. A. Blane played an important role in this East-West meeting.[46] To consolidate his teachings Swami wrote a code of conduct known as śikṣāpatri in 1826 comprising 212 Sanskrit aphorisms based on Ekāntika Dharma. This dharma is based on four *Vedas, Vedāntasūtras* of Vyāsa, *Śrimad Bhāgavata, Viṣṇusahasranāma, Bhagavadgītā, Viduranīti, Vāsudeva-māhātmya* and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti.*[47] Belief in these eight authoritative śāstras and the interpretations and commentaries made by Swami form the basis of his vacanāmṛta made to his devotees during 1819-1829. The Swami himself scrutinised the text, line by line and every discourse is precisely dated observes John Carman Professor of comparative religion at Harvard.[48]

Swamini Vato literally means Swami's Talks. It is a selected compilation made by Swami Gunatitananda of the essential dialogues Swami Narayan had made in the simplest form in colloquial Gujarati language spoken in Kathiawad judiciously using analogies, parables and stories from Hindu scriptures.[49] Infact it reflects the realized wisdom or sākṣātkāra of Swami Narayan. Thus during his short and active,

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lifespan of 49 years, Swami Narayan established in the Sanātana Hindu Dharma in the Vedas and left the mortal frame on the 3rd June 1830 leaving his successors like Gunatitananda the door for ultimate salvation. We attend the conference on the 180th samādhi day of the great spiritual and socio-cultural ambassador of India, who began the Indian modernization long before Raja Ram Mohan Roy launched.[50]

Not Renaissance but only Humanistic Modernization

The European Renaissance was in arts, science and literature and it began in the post-Chaucerian period (after 1400 AD). It was a revival of Greek and Roman classics. But in India what Swami Narayana and Raja Ram Mohan Roy began was an attempt at modernization based on humanism. It was a synthesis of Indian spirituality, rationalism and religion. In Kerala too, caste based reform movement began with Vaikuntha Swamikal followed by Arattupuzha Velayudha Panikker[51].

Velayudha Panikker (7th January 1825 to 8th January 1874) an Ezhava social reformer was the first to consecrate the Śiva temple at Mangalath, near Edakkad in the year 1854 in the year of the birth of Sree Narayana Guru. It was Panikker who for the first time revived the Kathakaliyogam which was a monopoly of the savarṇas side by side encouraged non-savarnas to read Vedic texts and to wear gold ornaments. Arattupuzha Panikker was stabbed to death by an unknown person in 1874 at the age of 49 probably one who was opposed to his new progressive reforms.[52] The studies on this pioneer social reformer had been sidelined by historians from time to time. It was only after the period of Velayudha Panikker, that the social-religious reformers like Chattampi Swamikal, Sree Narayana Guru etc. created a spiritual halo to reform the Kerala society. Dr. P. Palpu the true founder of the SNDP Yogam along with barrister G. P. Pillai made the socio-political movement for modernization of Travancore a reality by their speeches, writings, memorials and public addresses.[53]

In those days the social conditions of Kerala were obnoxious. The caste system was so deep rooted that people were divided into innumerable castes and sub-castes, each in close endogamic group with taboos of untouchability, unapproachability and even unseeability. Right

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to use the road was decided by one's caste in the case of Hindus here. Higher castes shunned the lower castes because they believed that their touch or approach or even sight within a certain distance caused pollution to them. This state of affairs led to conscious attempts to prevent the outcastes from entering roads, schools, offices and other public places. Thus distance pollution for a Brāhmin was 64 ft. from a Paraya, 54 ft. from a Pulaya and 30 ft. from a Thiyya or Ezhava. Among lower castes also distance pollution was observed. A Pāṇan or Malayan may approach, but not touch a Tiyan. A Pulayan must not approach a Pāṇan[54]. Pollution was observed even between the different sub-castes within the Brahmin community. A Tamil brahmin by touch caused pollution to a Namboodiri and a Nair to the brāhmin. Untouchability and other disabilities were applicable only in the case of avarṇas. They suffered these disabilities just because they were loyal Hindus.

Paradoxically enough, the moment they left Hinduism and embraced Islam of Christianity, their stigma was removed and they in their new religious status, were free to move along the same roads which were once closed for them because of adherence to Hinduism. The economic system was feudal and oppressive to the maximum. Avarṇas and Māppilas or Muslims were taxed heavily whereas the upper castes were exempted from the payment of land tax. The holding of umbrellas was prohibited to all except the brāhmins, though the rain were pouring upon them. Social exclusiveness of outcastes also prevented intermarriages and interdining. Some of the social customs like Tālikeṭṭu (the marriage ceremony of tying tāli), etc. impoverished many of these social groups, both avarṇas and savarṇas. Agrarian relations and other economic problems also necessitated drastic socio-economic changes in Kerala during the period.

The Spiritual Halo

The impact of western education was a great reality in Indian national life even from the last quarter of the 18th century. The ever increasing political and social consciousness of the elite Indians transformed medieval India into modern India. Indian social and religious spheres underwent fundamental changes primarily because of the efforts made by Swami Narayana, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sree Ramakrishna

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Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswathi, etc. In Kerala also there was a similar religious awakening piloted by Śri Chattambi Swamikal (1854-1924) and Sri Narayana Guru (1856-1928). Their revolutionary interpretation of the philosophy of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads effected basic changes in the outlook of the people.

Born as a member of the Nair community, Sree Chattambi Swamikal was a celebrated mystic and scholar. He was aptly called Vidyādhirāja, the king of knowledge.[55] He sowed the seeds of social revolution in Kerala at a time when the brāhmins were monopolizing all fields of activity. One of his books *Vedādhikāranirūpaṇam* challenged the monopoly of the brāhmins in the study and practice of Vedic knowledge and their domination in the cultural and spiritual life of the age. His speeches and books helped the lower castes to revive their self respect as the inheritors of a great culture. First as a member of the Nair community, he liberated himself from the psychological submission to the brāhmins[56]. After his efforts at internal reforms of the Nairs, he impressed upon his men the absurdity and meaninglessness of the caste system by taking food from the avarṇas. He wanted the major Hindu social groups like the Nairs and Ezhavas to play their legitimate role in the social reformation of Kerala.

Sree Narayana Guru, an Ezhava savant and seer, an exemplary model of human compassion totally detached from desires and ambitions revolted against the dominance of the brāhmin priesthood and struggled hard for the mitigation of the rigours of caste. After a period of prolonged meditation Sree Narayana broke the religious monopoly of the brahmins by installing a Śiva idol at a place called Aruvippuram in Trivandrum (1888). Subscribing to the Advaita philosophy of Śrī Śaṅkara, Narayana Guru carried it to a logical conclusion. His simple and succinct message of "one caste, one religion, one God for man" was the result his reinterpretation of Śaṅkara Advaita.[57]

The installation of an idol at Aruvippuram by an untouchable man infuriated the orthodox brāhmins and they questioned the propriety of this Avarṇa for which Sri. Narayana answered that the deity consecrated was "an *Ezhava Śiva and not a Brāhmin Śiva*". The hollowness of caste distinctions was revealed and the meaningless pride of the brāhmins was shattered by this sober reply of that harbinger of social reform

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movement in Kerala.[58] In order to eradicate the cultural backwardness of the Ezhavas, he appealed to them to get themselves educated. For the social, political, spiritual and economic uplift of Ezhavas, Narayana Guru reorganized the Aruvippuram temple committee into an organisation of the Ezhavas. Thus a silent revolution was set in motion by him and on account of the special and peculiar needs of this land, his socio-religious movement appeared almost an indoor affair.[59]

Religion is not separate from culture. The word culture involves a vast ocean of things in our day to day life and religion is only one aspect of one's culture. Religious life improves the quality of culture and civilization. As Carlyle has characterized there are some people who mould the civilizational quality. Toynbee's "creative individual" plays a potent part in the development of culture. In the far south two individuals tried hard to improve the society and culture at large through religious and spiritual activities. Most of these modernizers launched separately a non brāhmin and anti-brāhmin movement in South Indian.[60] They broke aryan brāhmin laws in broad day light. They ate with downtrodden people. They visited the residence of suppressed classes. They set up temples for their disciples. They encouraged interdining and intermarriages and wrote poems and stanzas to educate the poor illiterate people. Then improved the quality of life. Similar efforts had been done by an earlier savant Bhagavān Swami Narayana (1781-1830) who spearheaded a socio-spiritual renaissance in Gujarat, by eradicating the sati custom, superstitions, animal 'sacrifices' in yajñas and immoral practices.[61] He was a torch bearer of Indian culture, reviving the pristine traditions of Hinduism by elevating aspirants to the state of self-realization and God realization. All these efforts tremendously improved the quality of culture in India which has, had its impact on the entire subcontinent of Asia.[62] The efforts in Gujarat and Kerala finally led to the rise of the renaissance in the 18th century. Swami Narayana was a contemporary of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Like one man one vote principle, total equality in the society could be achieved only by religious sense.[63] It is very easy to refuse religious sentiments. But even those who sideline religion in public life are more devoted and dedicated to personal Gods or Goddesses. Some say against religion but they do penance and observe

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all religious rites without fail. Religious sense in a way help one to lead a life of a cultural man. But the reformers who had no English education limited their activities to the far south. In the real modernization of India all these socio-cultural pioneers played an important role at the regional level.

In nineteen forties Sri. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer erstwhile Diwan of Travancore (1931-47) proposed an all Indian river policy connecting all rivers of India, both of the north and south. Although Lord Mountbattern, the last Viceroy of British India appreciated the proposal of Sir C. P. no positive action was taken by Government of India after Independence. The socio cultural as well as spiritual leaders of India, born and brought up in different conditions, climate, caste or community worked independently and their object was modernization or rather the betterment of all Indians who belonged to a variety of castes, creeds and communities. Basically they all belonged to the same stream. We need not call it a full Renaissance like those in Europe. In Europe it was a rebirth of classical art, literature, society etc. Here there is no rebirth but only the genesis and growth. Therefore we can't call the Indian modernization as renaissance or reformation as we use these terms in European or Western context.

Swami Chinmayananda, the redoubtable champion of Hindu uplift was a greatest populariser of Vedic literature particularly the *Bhagavad-gītā.* There is no predecessor or successor to him in the globe in this type of philosophizing *Gītā* to the people. In him we see a remarkable Hindu who through his half a century old discourses awakened millions of people to the Hindu way of life.[64] I record here my fortune for interacting with him in his two week long discourses in Trivandrum almost a quarter century ago. The most complex problem had been simplified so much so that the common man understood it. So was Swami Narayana who through his Sanskrit speeches founded the socio religious movement in India long before Raja Ram Mohan Roy began it. The legacy of India is nothing but the legacy inherited by Indians from these two Swamis – Narayana and Chinmayananda.

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Notes

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2. R. J. Moore (ed), *Tradition and Politics in South Asia,* Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979 *passim.*
3. R. C. Majumdar (ed) *The Classical Age,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1988, pp. 471-498.
4. *Ibid*
5. Ibid. Also see T. P. Sankarankutty Nair, *Indo-Bali Relations in Pre-modern period, Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies,* Madras University, Chennai 2002.
6. *Ibid*
7. D.E. Smith, *op.cit.* pp 36-38
8. *Ibid*
9. T.P. Sankarankutty Nair, *History of China,* (Malayalam) Kerala State Language Institute, Trivandrum, 1974, *passim.*
10. *Ibid*
11. *Ibid*
12. R. C. Majumdar *op.cit,* pp 480-86
13. *Ibid*
14. A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* London, 1927, *passim.*
15. *Ibid*
16. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1914, Vol. I, pp 77-196.
17. *Ibid*
18. A. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit*
19. *Ibid*
20. Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed) *Sinners and Saints,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000.
21. C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian,* Longman, London, 1989, *passim.*
22. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movement in British India,* Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp 38-44. Also see K. Ravindran, *Vanjikandam (Shared Heritage – An Early History of Kerala),* ISDL, Trivandrum, 2008, *passim.*
23. C.A. Bayly op.cit. Also see R.C. Majumdar (ed), *The Vedic Age,* B.V. Bhavan, Bombay, *passim.*
24. A. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*
25. *Ibid*
26. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Indian History,* S.Viswanathan & Co, Chennai, 1989, pp 238-44

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27. *Ibid*
28. *Ibid*
29. Śaṅkarācārya is famous for his Advaita Philosophy a doctrine of non-dualism pure and simple. According to his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, the only reality is Brahman or the Absolute one, any perceived duality between that one and the Ātman or individual soul is the result of *māyā* or illusion or ignorance. The material world is also illusionary. Śaṅkara was renowned for his dialectical skills and he debated exponents of other schools of philosophy with great vigour in Varanasi. He displayed great familiarity with the doctrines of his opponents especially the Buddhists. Ādi Śaṅkara's critics accused him of being a Buddha in disguise. Śaṅkara's dialectial victories added to the decline of Buddhism in India after the eight century AD.
30. Jyothirmutt in Badarinath in the north, Govardhan mutt in the east at Puri, Saradamutt in Dwaraka in the west and Sringeri Mutt in the south near Mookambika temple are four mutts set up by Ādi Śaṅkara to counter other religions. Four mutts had been established in Kerala also near the Vadakkunnāthan Mahādevar temple of Trissur in Kerala. Śaṅkara is worshipped as a deity in Vadakkunnāthan temple besides a Maṇḍapam erected too was at the holy Samadhin in 820 AD at the age of 32. See the present author's *History and Historiography* in Relation to Tirumala Venkatadri in *Sapthagiri Journal* of TT Devaswom, Tirupathi, May 2009.
31. Rāmānuja (c. 11th or 12th century) lived in Karnataka or the Hoysala Kingdom of Dwarasamudra during the ascendancy of the Chola dynasty. He is acknowledged as one of the greatest Vaishnavites of the Bhakti movement appealing to the non-Brāhmins of South India. He challenged Ādi Śaṅkara's Vedānta philosophy of non-dualism and refuted it by identifying a personal god as a vedantic concept. He differentiated between the individual soul or cit, an unfeeling universe or acit and the Almighty soul or Īśvara. He preached total love and devotion or bhakti through wisdom, good work or surrender of the self as the only path of spiritual salvation and rejected the concept of māyā of the non-reality of phenomenal existence. In this way he enlarged the Upanishadic teachings. Although Rāmānuja School got split up into many factions, his influence was substantial and he has been deified and worshipped in South India. Even in Guruvayur Sri Venkatachalapathi temple in Kerala Rāmānuja is worshipped as a God along with Viṣṇu, Ayyappa and Devi.
32. Vallabhācārya (1479-1531) The son of a Telugu Brāhmin Vallabhācārya was a child prodigy in his early mastery of the Vedas and Purāṇas. He studied at Varanasi and at Vrindavan and had a mystic experience of Kṛṣṇa. He taught a new mode of Kṛṣṇa Bhakti. Settled in Varanasi, Vallabhācārya taught and wrote many books in Sanskrit. The merchant communities of western India treated him as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. It continues to flourish in Gujarat and Mathura. pp 431-432
33. T. P. Sankarankutty Nair, Swami Narayanan and Chattambi Swamikal, Vidhyadhiraja Swamikal. Their contribution to Modern India, Institute of Historical Studies Annual Conference Tirupathi University, Tirupati, March 2009. Also see R. C. Majumdar (ed) *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II, Chapter on Gujarati literature written by Kulapathi K. M. Munshi Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Mumbai, 1991, pp 190-192
34. See my paper Modern Kerala at Cross Roads in the book "*Modern Indian Society Politics in Transition* (ed TPS Nair) Inter Indian Publications, 1988, New Delhi *Passim.*

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35. See my paper on Mahatma Ayyankali (1863-1941) a Histrographical Review in B. Sobihanan (ed) *Ayyankali, Ayyankali chair,* University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2009 *Passim*
36. The longest river of Kerala State is the river Periyār about which we get references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vālmīki) and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* as river cūrṇi where rare metals are available in abundance. The Pambā is the river basin through which we reach Sabarimala temple of Lord Ayyappa. The Kavery and the Vaigai are two major river systems which water the whole of the state of Tamil Nadu. See Shobita Punja, *Daughters of the Ocean - Discovering the Goddess Within,* Viking, New Delhi, 1996, *passim*
37. The list is not exhaustive at all. See Sumit Sarkar, *Writing Social History,* OUP New Delhi, 1998. Also see Ranajit Guha, Subaltern Studies, Delhi, different dates for this 12 volume study.
38. Sadhu Mukundacharandas, *The Swaminarayanan Sampraday,* Swaminarayanan Aksharpith, Amadabad, 2006, pp. 2-13
39. Swami Gunatitananda was Aksharbrahma incarnate. On many occasions Swami Narayan revealed that Guṇatītananda was his foremost devotee. Paramahamsas adept in Sanskrit included Gopalananda Swami, Muktananda Swami and Nityananda. There were eight such Swamis whose kīrtanas or songs in thousands embellished the Bhakti literature of the 19th century. Satsaṅg is synonym for the Swami Narayan sampraday association with Sat (truth) means association with God, Gunatita Guru *Study of Scriptures of Swami Narayanan,* See details in H. T. Dave, *Bhagvan Swami Narayanan,* 5 vols. Swami Narayanan Aksharpith, Amadavad 2004; *Life and Philosophy of Sree Swami Narayan* (by the same author) George Allen & Unwin, London, 1974; Also see Ishwarcharandas Shastri, *Gunatitandand Swami* (1993), *Bhagatji Maharaj* (1993), *Brahmaswarup Yogiji Maharaj* (1990) 6 volumes – all publications of Aksharpith Amadavad.
40. Letters of Shastriji Maharaj (compiled) by Ishwarcharandas and Sadhu Vivekapriyadas, Aksharpith, Amdabad (2000) *passim* Shastriji Maharaj established in 1907 the Bochasanvasi Shri Akshar Purushotam Swami Narayana Sanstha (BAPS)
41. Ibid
42. Ibid
43. Sadhu Vivekjivandas, Bhagvan Swaminarayanan: Life and work of Swaminarayan Aksharpith 2007 Ahmedabad, passim. Also see Sadhu Mukundacharandas, *Rishis, Mysties and Heroes of India,* 2006 Ahmedabad, Aksharpith, Vol I passim.
44. Wilberforce Bell, Cap.H, *History of Kathiawad* William Heineman London, 1916, passim
45. John Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India,* Smith, Elder Co; London, 1855, passim.
46. Sadhu Mukundacharandas, *The Swaminarayana sampraday,* op.cit p.9
47. Ibid pp 14-17 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* is one of the principal ancient smṛti, second only to *Manusmṛti* which deals with moral codes.
48. Ibid Also see Sadhu Vivekjivandas *op.cit*
49. *Ibid*
50. *Ibid*
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Towards an Understanding of the Concept 'Pramātā' in the Principal Upaniṣads

Surjya Kamal Borah

The Upaniṣads are called the brahma-vidyā, or science of brahman, and also the ātma-vidyā, or science of ātman. Ācārya Śaṅkara is of the view that the word Upaniṣad denotes ultimate knowledge primarily and the books that deals with the knowledge of brahman secondarily.[1] He says that Upaniṣad is called brahmavidyā as it makes brahman attainable to the mumukṣu.[2] The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* says that this brahmavidyā which Upaniṣads teach is the basis of all knowledge.[3] The Upaniṣads divide the entire knowledge domain into two - parā and aparā[4] where parāvidyā[5] is the knowledge of the ultimate reality and aparāvidyā is the knowledge of this phenomenal world.[6] This division of parā and aparā has the same connotation with that of vidyā and avidyā of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*[7] The *Śvetāśvatara*,[8] the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*[9] etc. S. P. Verma also says that India's excellence in the sphere of epistemology consists in inter alia the Upaniṣadic distinction of parā (higher) and aparā (lower) knowledge.[10] Further, Upaniṣads discuss epistemological issues in relation to the empirical knowledge, also in explaining the limitations regarding the knowledge of brahman. Thus, the Upaniṣads seem to be more epistemological in their nature, discussing the nature, process and validity of knowledge.

Though, Upaniṣads explain the ultimate reality as non-dual, yet epistemological duality which is an empirical concern only, is there until realization. Ācārya Śaṅkara also says that pramāṇa-prameya vyavahāra corresponds to all lower knowledge and the differentiation gets over only after realization.[11] Thus, an epistemic study of the Upaniṣads brings different issues in front of us and the concept of pramātā is one of them. In the entire Upaniṣadic philosophy, we never come across the word pramātā as we find in the later Vedāntic text. Since the process of knowing invariably requires a knower, the nature

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of pramātā or knower is the most important constituent in the knowledge process. But, here the question of concept of pramātā is raised on the background of the metaphysical position of the Upaniṣads. Upaníṣadic philosophy is essentially a philosophy of non-dual reality and that reality is called as Ātman or Brahman.[12] This is the sole reality and there is no plurality at all here.[13] This left us in a situation beyond empirical dealings. So, how is it possible to differentiate a position of knower-known division and to decide who is a knower?

The mere division of subject and object does not give us the answer to the question who is a knower, since subject-object division refers to the consciousness and the material objects, the question remains that is consciousness alone the knower? Mind, intellect, sense-organs all are being produced from food,[14] they are material though subtle in nature and thus inert. They are not conscious in themselves. The mere physical body cannot be the knower itself since consciousness is absent there. So, there is something in the body which makes us conscious and because of that conscious principle, we are in a position to move, to think, to acquire knowledge, etc. It is indicated by the Upaniṣads that no mortal lives by prāṇa or apāna; but all live by something else due to which these two find asylum.[15] That is why the *Kenopaniṣad* has raised this question in the very beginning- "Willed by whom does the directed mind go towards its object? Being directed by whom does the vital force that precedes all, proceed (towards its duty)? By whom is this speech willed that people utter? Who is the effulgent being who directs the eyes and the ears?"[16] Śruti itself answers that there is something which is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, the breath of the breath, eye of the eye.[17] This speculation leads to the idea that the experience of the things of the world depend on an eternal reality. Thus, it demands a specific discussion to clarify that whether it is jīvacaitanya or sākṣīcaitanya.

It is a fact that the final goal of the Upaniṣads is to make one understand as well as realizing one's inner-self as brahman or the unity between the individual self and brahman; and for that purpose it demonstrates the apparent division between the individual self and brahman. The following mantra gives us a clear division of jīvātmā and paramātmā. Cf.-

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ṛtaṃ pibantau sukṛtasya loke
guhāṃ praviṣṭau parame parārdhe,
chāyātapau brahmavido vadanti
pañcāgnayo ye ca triṇāciketāḥ.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad,* 1.3.1)

It means- "The two who enjoy the fruits of their good deeds, stay being seated in the cavity of the heart, the seat of the supreme. They are compared to light and shade by the one who knows brahma, the one who worships the five fires and the one who performs the Nāciketas agni three times." Ācārya Śaṅkara in his commentary says that to understand the answer to questions such as - who is the obtainer, what is to be obtained, who is the knower and what is to be known - the description of the two types of ātmā is done here.[18] The significant use of dual number in the word "pibantau" refers to jīvātmā and paramātmā who enjoy the fruits of their good deeds. Swami Chinmayananda in his commentary says that to introduce these two factors, the ātmā (self) and the jīva (ego), we have here, in the very opening stanza of this vallī, a declaration unanimously made by all the realized saints of knowledge and endorsed by the faithful householders - paṇḍita-s. All of them declare that though the body seems to be controlled and directed by these two factors, one of them is but the shadow replica of the other.[19] Again he says that the individual in his extrovertness gazing on outwardly, views this shadow and identifies himself with it. The shadow represents the (I-ego), the saṃsārin, who suffers the mortal agonies of his physical pains, mental tortures, intellectual failures, and spiritual bankruptcy. This shadow is called the jīvātman and the light that causes it, the 'I'- ego, the God principle in us, is called the paramātman.[20] Thus, these two, we can say, as finite self of man – the jīva and the infinite self of the universe - ātman or brahman. Swami Ranganathananda also says that in the first verse, Yama refers to buddhi or intelligence of man as a cave in which are the finite self of man – the jīva or soul and the infinite self of the universe - the ātman or brahman. These two are described as chāyā and ātapa, shade and light, respectively. Brahman is the light of all lights, the jīva or finite soul is its reflection in the buddhi or intelligence.[21] By defining the enjoyer in us also in later mantras, the

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Upaniṣad definitely making a differentiation between the two entities of us, one - the true principle, the non-doer and non-enjoyer; and the other is the doer or enjoyer, the delusion created conditioned ātman.[22]

The above mentioned mantra gives us an idea that jīvacaitanya is the knower. The mantra says that both jīvātman and paramātman is the enjoyer of the fruits of their good deeds. But it is jīvātman, who is basically attached to the worldly enjoyment, not paramātman, because it has nothing to do with this world. Swami Ranganathananda also discussing this point says that brahman being the all and present everywhere, has no journey to perform. But the finite jīva has a journey to perform, the journey towards fulfillment, the journey to the infinite, which takes him through the discipline of actions which produce their fruits invariably. The verse, however, attributes such a journey to brahman also, since it refers to the two - the jīva and brahman - as enjoying the reward of good and bad deeds by using the verb pibantau- enjoy - in the dual number. This is just a figure of speech, says Ācārya Śaṅkara in his comment on the verse.[23] Ācārya Śaṅkara says in his commentary that there are two drinkers of truth, i.e. the results of work which is called truth because of its inevitability. Of these two, one enjoys the fruit of work, and not the other. Still both are called enjoyers, because of association with the enjoyer, on the analogy of the expression 'the possessor of the umbrella'.[24] When a king with his retinue moves out in a procession with umbrellas, people say, 'chatriṇaḥ yānti - people with umbrellas are going,' though most of the people in the procession do not possess umbrellas.[25] The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* itself clarifies this stand through the following mantra-

indriyāni hayānāhuḥ viṣayāṃsteṣu gocarān,
ātmendriyamanoyuktaṃ bhoktetyāhurmanīṣiṇaḥ.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad* - 1.3.4.)

Here, the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* declares that the real entity in us, which seems to experience the joys and sorrows in life, is not ātmā, the all-witnessing consciousness, but the conditioned ātmā. The Supreme consciousness as conditioned by the body, mind and the sense organs, is the ego-centric (jīva), which seems to enjoy and suffer the worldly

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life. Thus, jīvātman is established as the knower, not paramātman. There we have a term "madhvadaḥ" in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* for knower. Madhvadaḥ means the enjoyer of honey, where honey stands for the good fruits of meritorious acts performed by the egocentric jīvas.[26] According to the literal meaning of the mantra, the ātman, pure consciousness, is said to be here as the eater of honey. But if we try to understand it literally, would go against its metaphysics of absolute monism. Ātman which is pure consciousness, one without a second, how can be the enjoyer and enjoying separately from the eternal enjoyer? So, we have to understand it in terms of the philosophical position of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* and thus here, the Upaniṣad calls ātman as an enjoyer of the fruits of the good acts only in its conditioned aspects. And this is the stand for jīvātman as a knower. The *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* also gives us a similar definition- '*antaḥkaraṇāvacchinnaṃ caitanyaṃ pramātṛcaitanyam.*'[27] It is clearly mentioned in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* while describing human personality, consisting of the body, the sense organs, mind, intellect and the soul with the beautiful imagery of chariot where ātman is the master of the chariot, which is united with other faculties.[28] Thus, it is not other than the jīvātmā who can be said to be as pramātā.

We can, from another point of view too, establish the knower-ship of jīvātmā. Yama in his conversation repeatedly says that discriminating or abstracting the self from others, i.e. the body or the gross material world, any sādhaka can get the knowledge of brahman which implies that there is a state where the mortal does not discriminate the self and this is the stand of jīvātmā as a knower.[29] Dhīraḥ or a competent knower of brahmavidyā who knows ātman as bodiless, all pervading and supreme, seated firmly in perishable bodies, do not grieve.[30] It means the competent knower at first do not know the real nature of his inner self or ātman who after due deliberation gets the knowledge. He who knows brahman or ātman in its true nature, no more gets entangled in the cycle of birth and death. He becomes immortal. So, the aspirant or the knower will be definitely someone who faces death and birth. And it is he, who is not aware of his inner self and understand himself as an enjoyer. The following mantra also clearly shows that jīvātmā is the knower-

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yastvavijñānavān bhavatyamanaskaḥ sadā'śuciḥ,
na sa tat padamāpnoti saṃsāraṃ cādhigacchati.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad* - 1:3.7.)

"He who is impure, thoughtless and devoid of intellectual discrimination can never realize the self and is ever stuck in the cycles of birth and death."

Here, the qualities like impurities, thoughtlessness, devoid of intellectual discrimination, etc. are suitably applicable to jīvātman only. So, he is the knower or pramātā.

Yama to clear the unity between the individual self and the paramātman, has beautifully explains the state of jīvātmā here and there in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. This idea has been repeated again and again by the statement- "*etadvai tat*". One of them is mentioned here-

yathodakaṃ śuddhe śuddhamāsiktaṃ tādṛgeva bhavati,
evaṃ munervijānata ātmā bhavati gautama.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad* - 2.1.15.)

Thus, it can be concluded that a realized one no more remains in the cycle of birth and death. So, definitely it is jīvātman, who tries to make himself realized as he wants to be free from that cycle as in the case of Nāciketā.

Two Different Categories of Pramātā

In the Upaniṣadic scheme of knowledge, we find a division of parā (empirical knowledge) and aparāvidyā (transcendental knowledge); and as such we can have two different categories of pramātā. Upaniṣads have raised a bar of adhikāritva, in relation to higher knowledge which is a qualitative personality refinement concept through the practices of various virtues, control of the senses, determination, svādhyāya, etc. The two categories are different depending on their aim and approach, based on their understanding of what is to be known or in terms of result - one who desires for worldly pleasure and the other who yearns for the knowledge of brahman or self-realization, thereby attaining immortality. Yama has cleared this point in the following mantra -

anyacchreyo'nyadutaiva preyaste
ubhe nānārthe puruṣaṃ sinītaḥ,

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tayoḥ śreya ādadānasya sādhu
bhavati hīyate'rthād ya u preyo vṛṇīte.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.2.1)

Making it clearer in continuation, Yama says that both the good (śreyas) and the pleasant (preyas) path of life approach a human being. The intelligent, examines both the courses with judicious discrimination. The one with penetrating perceptiveness chooses the good to the pleasant path. The unintelligent prefers and selects the pleasant path of acquisition of material goods and the preservation thereof, for the sake of the growth and protection of the body.[31] Again Yama gives a very clear distinction between these two, from the point of object and knowledge, the knower wants to follow. Cf.-

parācaḥ kāmānanuyanti bālā-
ste mṛtyoryanti vitatasya pāśam,
atha dhīrā amṛtatvaṃ viditvā
dhruvamadhruveṣviha na prārthayante.
(*Kaṭhopaniṣad* - 2.1.2)

The ignorant people is ever seeking and trying to possess, or is full of desires for the gross objects. He is enamoured and attracted by the objects of the sense-organs and is ever pursuing them. The internal desires, which are beyond the sense-organs, would have been the opposite of gross desires. But the wise turns his vision inward and experiences the eternal essence in the bewildering finitude. The dhīraḥ or the one, who is endowed with impregnable wisdom, knows of the destructibility of the gross seen world. They do not desire those perishable objects, which result a short time pleasure. They follow the path of wisdom and immortality. Thus, from the point of final knowledge, we have two categories of knower —

1. Knower of empirical knowledge (aparāvidyā) and
2. Knower of transcendental knowledge (parāvidyā).

These two categories can be said to be two levels of understanding and the purification of internal-organ in the part of a pramātā, since pramātā is one who can transform himself from one category to another.

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Qualitative Distinction of the Two Categories

To become a knower of brahmavidyā, one has to practice some moral code of conduct to ensure such personality and has to re-arrange his thinking faculty to intensify the yearning for that ultimate knowledge. It is the real concept of pramātā regarding the Upaniṣadic thought, fulfilling its final purpose. Even the devatās, living in svargaloka, previously doubted about the existence of ātma after death; but they were not capable of knowing this ultimate truth. When Yama says - *āścaryo vaktā kuśalo'sya labdhā, āścaryo jñātā kuśalānuśiṣṭaḥ*, it is overstated that the knower as well as the teacher of brahmavidyā are very rare to be found. One should have enormous perceptivity and ability to opt between good or bad, complete absorption in one thought or one pointed yearning for the ultimate truth or mokṣa.

When Naciketas asks his father's happiness, calmness of mind, which is free from anger, anxiety[32], he symbolizes the knower of first category. And, having secured the peace of mind of his father, he turned to heaven. Thus, when he asks about agnividyā with a purpose to know the means to svargaloka[33] he stands for the knower of the same category. Apparently, the results of the both are definitely perishable or enjoyable only for a short period. When he asks for the third boon i.e. the truth beyond death, Naciketas promotes himself to the second category of knower. Yama's complementary statement, where he says about Naciketas that the gateway to the temple of truth is wide open for him, establishes Naciketas as the true aspirant of brahmavidyā.[34] Together with the qualities of sincerity, faith, devotion and purity, he had to appear in test in front of Yama before being imparted his teachings. Naciketas has shown his great understanding and unequivalent thirst for knowledge. He is detached and indifferent towards worldly objects as compared to the ordinary people.[35] Naciketas's intellectual integrity is blown up through his understanding, determination[36] and discriminative power between śreyas and preyas.[37] The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* defines this kind of aspirant of brahmavidyā as śānta, dānta, uparata, titikṣu and samāhita.[38] Śānta means a person who ceases himself from the activities of the external organs while dānta from the activities of the internal organs. Uparata means free from all desires and samāhita means

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onepointed. The comprehensive definition of pramātā in the *Vedāntasāra*, most importantly the sādhana-catuṣṭaya, i.e. - discrimination between the permanent and the transient, renunciation of the fruits of action in this world and in the other, the six treasures of śama etc. and the desire for emancipation[39] are very close to this second category.

From the above epistemic analysis of the Upaniṣadic philosophy, it can be shown how on the background of the non-dual metaphysical position, the individual self can be established as pramātā. This can be further categorized on the basis of ethico-spiritual ground, according to the Upaniṣadic scheme of knowledge, i.e. parā and aparā vidyā. And specifically, the epistemological dimension of the individual self is reflected through the concept of knower within the framework of knower, known, means of knowledge and knowledge in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, characterized by Naciketas.

Accordingly, later definitions of Vedāntic thought about the concept of knower from an epistemological point of view, have been covered up in this discussion, either regarding higher knowledge or lower knowledge as Upaniṣads declare. Thus, Upaniṣads give us a new approach towards the concept of jīvātmā as different from mere a suffering person, engrossed by ignorance and moves in the cycle of birth and death, to a positive aspect of the journey of self realization.

Notes

1. *Tasmādvidyāyāṃ mukhyayā vṛttyopaniṣacchabdo vartate granthe tu bhaktyeti.* Intro. of *Kaṭhopaniṣad* Ś.B
2. *Paraṃ brahmā vā gamayatīti brahma gamayitṛtvena yogād brahma vidyopaniṣad.* Ibid.
3. *Sa brahmavidyāṃ sarvavidyāpratiṣṭām. Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, 1.1.1
4. *Dve vidye veditavye iti ha sma yadbrahmavido vadanti parā caivāparā ca.* Ibid. 1.1.4.
5. *Parā yayā tadakṣaramadhigamyate.* Ibid. 1.1.5
6. *Tatrāparā ṛgvedo Yayurvedaḥ Sāmavedo -------atharvavedaḥ śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣamiti. Atha parā yayā tadakṣaramadhigamyate.* Ibid., 1.1.5.
7. *Anyacchreyo---------nyadutaiva preyaste ubhe nānārthe purūṣaṃ sinītaḥ. Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.2.1
8. *dve akṣare brahmapare tvanante,*
   vidyāvidye nihite yatra gūḍhe,
   kṣaraṃ tvavidyā hyamṛtaṃ tu vidyā
   vidyāvidye īśate yastu so-----nyaḥ. Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, 5.1.

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9. *Nānā tu vidyā ca avidyā ca. Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 1.1.10
10. *Relevance of Indian philosophy in Modern Times*, S. P. Verma, p.143
11. *Tametavidyākhyamātmāntmanoritaretarādhyāsaṃ puraskṛtya ---pramātṛtvānupapattau pramāṇapravṛtyanupapatteḥ. Adhyāsbhāṣya, Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣya. dehātmapratyayo yadvatpramāṇatvena kalpitaḥ, laukikaṃ tadvadevedaṃ pramāṇaṃ tvātmaniścayāt.* Ibid, 1.1.
12. *Sarvaṃ khalvidaṃ brahma. Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3.14.1
13. *Na iha nānāsti kiñcana. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 4.4.19, *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 2.1.10-11.
14. *Evameva khalu somyānnasyaśya mānasya yo nimā sa ūrdhaḥ samudiṣati tanmano havati. Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 6.6.2
    Annamayaṃ hi somya mana. Ibid., 6.6.5 *Annamaśiatṃ tredhā vidhīyate tasya yaḥ sthaviṣṭo dhātustatpurīṣaṃ bhavati yo madhyamastanmāṃsaṃ yo---ṇiṣṭhastanmanaḥ.* Ibid. 6.5.1
15. *Na prāṇena nāpānena martyo jīvati kaścana, Itareṇa tu jīvanti yasminnetāvupāśritau. Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 2.2.5
16. *Aum keneṣitaṃ patati preṣitaṃ manaḥ. Kena prāṇaḥ prathamaḥ praiti yuktaḥ. Keneṣitāṃ vācamimāṃ vadanti cakṣuḥ śrotraṃ ka u devo yunakti. Kenopaniṣad* 1.1
17. *Śrotrasya śrotraṃ manaso mano yadvāco ha vācaṃ sa u prāṇasya prāṇaścakṣuṣaścaṣuratimucya dhīrāḥ pretyāsmālokādamṛā bhavanti.* Ibid. 1.2
18. *Evaṃ ca prāptṛprāpyagantṛgantavyavivekārtha dvāvātmānāvunyasyete. Kaṭhopaniṣad Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, 1.1.3.
19. *Kaṭhopaniṣad-a dialogue with death*, comm. by Swami Chinmayananda, pp. 131.
20. Ibid., pp. 132.
21. *The Message of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 397-398.
22. *Kaṭhopaniṣad.*, 1.3.4.
23. *The Message of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 397-398.
24. *ṛtaṃ satyaṃvaṣayaṃbhāvitvātkarmaphalaṃ pibantau, ekastatra karmaphalaṃ pibati bhuṅkte netaraḥ, tathāpi pātṛsambandhātpibantau ityucyate cchatrinyāyena. Kaṭhopaniṣad Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, 1.3.1.
25. *Eight Upaniṣads with the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya*, Translated by Swāmi Gambhīrānanda, vol.I, pp. 161.
26. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 2.1.5.
27. *Vedānta Paribhāṣā.*
28. *ātmānaṃ rathinaṃ viddhi śarīraṃ rathameva tu, buddhiṃ tu sārathiṃ viddhi manaḥ pragrahameva ca. Kaṭhopaniṣad.* 1.3.3.
29. *etacchrutvā samparigṛhya martyaḥ pravṛhya dharmyamaṇumetamāpya, sa modate modanīyaṃ hi labdvā vivṛtaṃ sadma Naciketsaṃ manye.* Ibid., 1.2.13.
30. *aśarīraṃ śarīreṣva anavastheṣvavasthitam, mahāntaṃ vibhumātmānaṃ matvā dhīro na śocati.* Ibid.,1.2.22.
31. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.2.2.
32. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.1.10.
33. *Ibid.*, 1.1.13.
34. *Ibid.* 1.2.13.

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35. *Ibid.*, 1.1.26.
36. *Ibid.*, 1.1.6.
37. *Ibid.*, 1.1.28.
38. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.* 4.4.23.
39. *Sādhanāni-niytānityavastuvivekehāmutrārthaphalabhogavirāgaśamādiṣaṭkasampatti-mumukṣutvāni. Vedāntasāra.*

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14

Śrīkaṇṭha: The Forerunner for later Śaivasiddhānta Authors

T. Ganesan

Among the commentators of the *Brahmasūtras* Śrīkaṇṭha stands unique. He is the first to write a commentary from the śaiva standpoint and also the first to bring in some of the basic notions of the śaivāgama-s in tune with the accepted vedāntic thoughts[1]. Later commentators such as Śrīpatipaṇḍita (13-14th century) from the Vīraśaiva standpoint, Śivāgrayogī (16th century) the commentator on the Sanskrit version of the *Śivajñānabodhasūtra* and Śivajñāna Śvāmikaḷ the author of *Śivajñānamāpāṭiyam* (the great Commentary in Tamil) on the *Śivajñānapotam* of Meykaṇṭār were all very much influenced directly and indirectly by Śrīkaṇṭha. In the present paper I will briefly discuss this point.

The important philosophical concept of Śiva's agency (kartṛtva) towards the created world has engaged the attention of many śaiva authors; Śrīkaṇṭha in his *Brahmamīmāṃsābhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* conceives Śiva, who is brahman, as always śaktiśabalita – possessing the supreme power, the Śakti, who exists as non-different from Him. Endowed with this supreme power Śiva brings about the five-fold cosmic acts (pañcakṛtya) of creation, sustenance, dissolution, concealment and bestowing grace.

In the 2nd adhikaraṇa of the *Brahmasūtras* – "*janmādyasya yataḥ*" the view that brahman is the material as well as the instrumental cause (nimitta-upādānakāraṇatva) is established; the pūrvapakṣa objections[2] are:

In the upaniṣadic passages, तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः सम्भूतः, द्यावा भूमी जनयन् देव एकः the concept of dual causality (ubhayakāraṇatva) is not explained as it is impossible as well as unreasonable. For, just as the potter who makes the pot does not become the clay, its material cause [he remains separate] and in the same way the weaver [does not become

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the cloth]. [Applying this analogy], brahman the instrumental cause can not be thought of to be the material cause. Moreover, it is useless for the instrumental cause to become the material cause; for, even without that proposition the effect can very well be realised as we see the pot coming out even when the potter remains separate from the clay.

Śrīkaṇṭha replies that, brahman is both the instrumental and the material cause of the created world. He argues that on the strength of the passages of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*,

स्तब्धोऽस्युत तमादेशमप्राक्ष्यो येनाश्रुतं श्रुतं भवत्यमतं मतमविज्ञातं विज्ञातं . . .

and यथैकेन मृत्पिण्डेन विज्ञातेन सर्वमिदं मृण्मयं विज्ञातं स्यात्, etc. just, by knowing the instrumental cause, namely, brahman, the knowledge of the entire world is not possible, as by knowing the potter it is not possible to have the knowledge of the pot, the effect. On the contrary, by knowing the clay the material cause the knowledge of its effects such as the pot is possible. Therefore, as assured in the above mentioned śruti passage, the knowledge of the entire world, the effect, is possible only if brahman is conceived to be both the instrumental as well as the material cause of the created world. Also he cites the śruti passage, तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय which states out clearly that "brahman thought Itself to become many" and which statement clearly proves that brahman is the material cause of this manifold universe.

The *pūrvapakṣa* objection is: The śruti passage विश्वाधिको रुद्रो महर्षिर्हिरण्यगर्भं पश्यत जायमानम् states clearly that 'the supreme Lord, existing beyond the entire created universe and thus its instrumental cause saw Hiraṇyagarbha who was created first'. Therefore, how can the supreme Lord be the material cause of the universe as He exists beyond and above it ?

Śrīkaṇṭha replies again that just as by those śruti passages such as विश्वाधिको रुद्रः etc. His [existing] beyond and above the universe is stated in the same way, by such passages as सर्वो वै रुद्रः. . . . .

His being the material cause of the universe is also clearly stated[3].

Śrīkaṇṭha in his commentary on *B.S.*1. 4. 27 states clearly his conception of the dual cause of Śiva; he gives a special explanation for the modification (pariṇāma) of Śiva, the instrumental cause[4] into the universe.

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From the supreme brahman existing without a second and into which the entire universe of conscious and inert matter is merged, the very first throb (mahāsphuraṇa) which is His power of knowledge (jñānaśakti) comes out; then, the power of supreme wish (icchāśakti) in the form 'let me be many' comes out. This means that Śiva, the supreme cause for whom the universe of undifferentiated name and form (nāmarūpa) in the subtle state and the entire conscious selves and inert objects serve as the body, first thinks 'let me become the [universe] of differentiated name and form' which [of course] is His body. Therefore the selfsame Śiva possessing the entire subtle universe as his body becomes the universe in a gross form. Just as the same embodied self exists as a boy and a young man so also Śiva exists as the cause as well as the effects.

Further, this view is strengthened by the passages such as,

मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायितुं तु महेश्वरम्।
तस्यावयवभूतेन व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत्।।

"Know māyā to be the material cause and the supreme Lord as the possessor of it (viśiṣṭa); [moreover] in the transmigratory state a portion of the supreme Lord, called Puruṣa pervades the entire universe". As an example Śrīkaṇṭha cites the absence of growth of hair, nails, etc. on the physical body without life and also the same absence from the mere self without the conjunction of the physical body. In the same way from māyā alone there cannot be the production of the universe nor from the Lord alone. But just as from a living body there is the growth of hair and nail and in the same way, he says, from the supreme cause Śiva qualified by His supreme power (māyā) the Puruṣa who is the source of all the conscious selves and the inert objects comes out[5]. Thus we perceive that according to Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva, qualified by His power, first brings forth the material cause of the universe (Puruṣa) who then creates the world. Puruṣa may be taken to be the state of Śiva who is engaged in the creation of the world[6]. In this fashion Śrīkaṇṭha proves that Śiva, qualified by the conscious selves and the inert objects, is both the instrumental and the material cause.[7]

Śrīkaṇṭha explains further the view of non-difference between the effect and the cause in his commentary on *B.S.* 2.1.16 - भावे चोपलब्धेः which need not detain us here.[8]

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We now come to Umāpati an important śaiva author who comes after Śrīkaṇṭha; in his commentary (bhāṣya) on the jñānapāda of the *Pauṣkarāgama* which is one of the important āgama-s of the Śaivasiddhānta tradition he explains the problem of dual cause.

To state briefly, Śiva is the Lord and master of everything (pati) and bindu is the material cause of pure creation; when bindu exists dissolving everything unto itself it is called laya; and Śiva who controls bindu in that state is also called laya which in other words is the śivatattva. Now this śivatattva, the āgama says, is not like other tattva-s which are the evolutes and therefore inert but It exists accompanied by its supreme power as its rays just as the sun exists with its rays.[9] Umāpati in his bhāṣya explains that the power of knowledge and action (dṛkkriyāśakti) are its rays as it were, and it serves as its self. Therefore Śiva and His Śakti are non-different. The āgama continues that this relationship is characterised by inseparable concomitance (samavāya)[10]; here Śiva exists separate (anya) as an entity but through His relationship he is non-different (ananya) from His Śakti.[11] Umāpati cautions here that this inseparable concomitance is not conceived on the model of the Nyāya system where two absolutely different entities [like cloth and the threads] are said to exist in such a relationship. On the contrary Śiva and His Śakti, in the Śaivasiddhānta system, are conceived to be non-different like the sun and its rays.[12] Clearly this view is very much similar to that of Śrīkaṇṭha which we analysed above. This view is further corroborated by the *Śivajñānabodhasūtra* - 2:

अन्यः सन् व्याप्तितोऽनन्यः कर्ता कर्मानुसारतः।

When the bindu is active in bringing out the [pure] world its corresponding state is called 'pravṛtta' and Śiva, its controller in that state, is called Īśvara. The āgama, here assures that these aspects of Śiva that arise in correspondance with the different states of bindu are not at all different but they are the same.

It is objected that for all practical purposes, being the material cause bindu is inert and it requires Śiva to activate it; this naturally entails modification in Śiva which view is against the fundamental concept that Śiva is immutable.[13]

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For this it is answered that generally agency (kartṛtva) is of two types: one is by mere volition or desire and the other is by acting with instruments. Śiva's agency is of the first type whereas that of the potter is of the second type.[14] Umāpati explains further that to possess the volition to act [in the case of Śiva] is to have the mental plan accompanied by the knowledge of the required cause to produce the effect. Naturally, he argues, such a mental act will not entail any modification in Śiva. In fact Umāpati argues that as Śiva is completely free from impurities (mala) and other delimiting adjuncts (upādhi) unlike the mortals such as the potter, He can have plentiful of agency (kartṛtva) and He is the sole agent.

Therefore, to sum up, according to the *Pauṣkarāgama* and its commentator Umāpati, Śiva is the supreme and the unique agent of all the five acts connected with the world and the selves and it goes perfectly well with His immutability and possessing the inseparable power of consciousness and action (dṛkkriyāśakti). Śiva activates the higher material cause, namely, bindu and in accordance with its states He is also known by different names such as laya, bhoga, etc. which are not fundamentally different among themselves. Here both the *Pauṣkarāgama* and Umāpati just fall short of endorsing the view of abhinnanimittopādāna of Śiva as Śrīkaṇṭha firmly holds but which is done by Śivāgrayogī, another great luminary in the firmament of Śaivasiddhānta of the 16th century.

In his *Civaneri- p-pirakācam* ("Illumination on the Precepts of śaiva religion") which gives the basic doctrines of the Śaivasiddhānta system in Tamil verse Śivāgrayogi briefly discusses the concept of 'dual causality' of Śiva; in verse 95 of this text he actually uses the compound word 'abhinnānimittopādāna'. He says that Īśa, namely, Śiva exists as both the instrumental (nimitta) and the material (upādāna) cause for the innumerable worlds and bodies.

According to the commentary on the above verse of *Civaneri-p-pirakācam* Śivāgra's position is explained thus: If Śiva is held to be nimittakāraṇa alone He will be non-pervasive [like a potter], and [therefore] non-eternal; moreover, this theory will make the accepted views that Śiva performs all the five acts (pañcakṛtya) always, that the

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three realities-pati, paśu, and pāśa-are eternal, and that He grants the experience of both good and bad [according to the karma] (bhoga) and liberation (mokṣa) to the selves, will all become false and the universe (prapañca) will be a void (śūnya). Therefore, as Śiva stands with the world in a relation just as the oil does with the sesame, He is non-different (abhinna) from it; as the world is inert and Śiva is consciousness He is materially different from it and just as the potter is an instrumental cause (nimittakāraṇa) with regard to the pot he makes, so also Śiva is the instrumental cause with regard to the world; as the Śakti of Īśvara is the origin [source = yoni] of the world when She is ready to create (kāryonmukha) Śiva, its possessor, becomes by implication the material cause (upādānakāraṇa) of the entire world[15].

In his shorter commentary *(saṃgrahabhāṣya)* on the *Śivajñāna-bodhasūtras* - also Śivāgra clearly states his concurrence with Śrīkaṇṭha's explanation of bhedābheda and abheda which we have seen above. While explaining the word 'anya' in the above sūtra Śivāgra says, as explained by Śrīkaṇṭha in his bhāṣya on the *tadananyatvādhikaraṇa* of the *Brahmasūtras*, non-difference (ananyatva) between material cause and its effect is to be explained as other than absolute difference, absolute non-difference and difference cum non-difference but a special type of non-difference similar to bhedābheda[16].

In his maṇipravāla commentary on the Tamil text *Śivajñānacittiyār*, verse, 1: 48 also Śivāgra expresses the same view. According to him in fact, this verse speaks the important Śaivasiddhānta concept that Śiva exists in three different relations with the universe:

1. as separate and beyond,
2. as the source from which the universe arises and into which it merges during pralaya and
3. as the inner most self which, in other words, is the life of all lives (uyirukku uyirumāki) of all living creatures and the inert objects.

This in the words of Śivāgra, means that Śiva is of the form of the universe (viśvamūrti), is its inner most self and guiding force (antaryāmī), is its only source (viśvakāraṇa) and finally He transcends (viśvātīta) the world.[17]

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Notes

1. For a study of the influence of āgama-s on Śrīkaṇṭha readers may profitably refer to the research article of T. Ganesan: Śrīkaṇṭha's *Viśiṣṭādvaita: Influence of śaivāgama-s on Vedānta* published in The Journal of Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, vol. LXII (1-4), January-December, 2006.

2. prakṛtyadhikaraṇa: 1.4.23

3. Śrikaṇṭha cites here many vedic passages such as the *śatarudrīya* portion of the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* where beginning from the mantra नमो हिरण्यवाहवे, and upto कुलञ्चानां पतये the text speaks Śiva's supreme lordship of the entire universe while the mantras beginning from नमः पर्णाय च पर्णशद्याय च describe Śiva as the entire universe. Also in the *Atharvaśira upaniṣad* the first two chapters speak of Śiva as the entire universe and the next chapters talk of His overlordship of the universe.

4. Because of this notion in the text called *Saṅkalpanirākaraṇam of Umāpati* (14th century) which briefly states the basic doctrines of eight different *śaiva* schools such as the *aikyavāda* and then refutes them, the view of Śrikaṇṭha is called *nimittakāraṇa-pariṇāmavāda.*

5. This view is conveyed in the *śruti* passage सर्वो वै रुद्रः. etc.

6. The same view is expressed clearly again in his commentary on *B. S.* 2:1:17: Śiva exists alone [without a second] fully endowed with the supreme Śakti that is non-different from Him and which is consciousness and which is the subtle form of the entire universe of conscious selves and inert objects and which exists as undifferentiated name and form; He, again [at the time of creation] spreads [*vistārayati*] His same Śakti into gross form of the entire universe of conscious selves and inert objects. The state of Śiva with His power contracted unto Himself is the state of dissolution and that where the same power is spread out in gross form is the state of creation.

7. Śrikaṇṭha adduces the well-known *Kaivalyopaniṣad* passage,
   उमासहायं परमेश्वरं प्रभुं त्रिलोचनम् नीलकण्ठं प्रशान्तम्।
   ध्यात्वा मुनिर्गच्छति भूतयोनिं समस्तसाक्षिं तमसः परस्तात्।।
   according to which Śiva accompanied by His power Umā is the source of all beings and is the material cause.

8. He cites the *Vāyusaṃhitā* passage,
   शक्त्यादि च पृथिव्यन्तं शिवतत्त्वसमुद्भवम्।
   तेनैकेन तु तद्व्याप्तं मृदा कुम्भादिकं यथा।।
   which clearly state the origin of all *tattva*-s beginning from Śiva and ending with the earth (pṛthivī) from Śiva, the supreme cause.

9. किन्तु स्वदृक्क्रियाशक्तिकिरणात्मकमव्ययम्।
   व्यापकं नित्यमचलं सर्वतोमुखमेश्वरम्। (*Pauṣkarāgama*, Vp., 1: 20cd-21ab)

10. तस्मिन् विस्पष्टतन्मात्रो व्यापकत्वादिधर्मवान्। (ibid. 21ab)

11. अनन्योऽन्यश्चं तच्छक्तेः समवायात् स्थितः शिवः। (ibid. 21cd)

12. The relationship between the quality (guṇa) and its possessor (guṇa) is mentioned by Śrīkaṇṭha. (vide supra)

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13. विन्द्ववस्थाविशेषेण शिवभेदस्त्वयोदितः।
विन्दोरचेतनत्वेन प्रवृत्तिः स्वत एव न।
कर्ता चेत् तत्प्रवृत्त्यर्थं विकारी स्यात् तदा शिवः।
(ibid. 27-28 ab)

14. कर्तृत्वं द्विविधं विप्राः सङ्कल्पात् करणादपि।
न हि सङ्कल्पमात्रेण कुलालैः क्रियते घटः।।
शिवः सङ्कल्पमात्रेण विन्दुक्षोभकरः सदा।
व्यापारविशेषेण येनायं विकृतो भवेत्।।
(ibid. 29-30 ab)

15. As evidence *Pauṣkarāgama*, verse 945 is cited.

16. *Saṃgrahabhāṣya* of Śivāgrayogī on *Śi vajñānabodhasūtra, 2.* (Refer to the edition of this text in Indian Philosophical Annual, vol. 20, Radhakrishnan Institute of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, 1987-88, p. 21.)

17. For a detailed and analytical study of the contributions of Śivāgrayogī in the domain of *Śaivasiddhānta* doctrines and rituals see the present writer's forthcoming research publication *History of Śaivasiddhānta* 16th Century: Contributions of Śivāgrayōgī which is fully based on all available oeuvres (published and unpublished) of this author.

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15

The Concept of Nṛtta and Nṛtya in Indian Tradition

L. Sudharmany

Introduction

The name India itself suggests 'hoary antiquity', a rich cultural legacy literally thousands of years old. If any culture could be said to be traditional, certainly Indian culture would seem to fit the bill. Before discussing the traditions of Indian performance, I would like to clarify how we use the words tradition and traditional. A tradition of performance in our nominative use of the word is virtually synonymous with genre. The word tradition, however, implies movement, action through time.

Drama is one of the important subjects of Sanskrit literature. As it is the imitation of lokavṛtta which is impersonated before the eyes of the spectator, its effect of the people is great. To heighten the appeal of the drama, the element of dance is added to it. According to a tradition found in *Abhinayadarpaṇa,* Bharata performed Nāṭya, Nṛtya and Nṛtta with the help of Gandharvas and Apsaras in the presence of Lord Śiva. Pleased at this dance, Śiva added his own as well as his consort Pārvatī's dance forms tāṇḍava and lāsya to the art of histrionics. Whatever may be the purpose of the above legend, it clearly indicates that there is an intimate relation between dance and the dramatic representations. Dance is considered as the oldest form of self-expression, rather it is the oldest drama itself.

In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is the first systematical work available on Indian dramaturgy, we find that Sanskrit drama had a very developed technique by that time and strict rules and injunctions had seen laid down for the depiction of the plot, its constitution, the specific types of characters, the delineation of particular rasas etc. in a detailed manner. On the basis of these constituent factors as well as the employment of various vṛttis, there arose various forms of such representations by laying emphasis on one or the other characteristic features or their different

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combinations. But only those types of performances found recognition in *Nāṭyaśāstra* which were composed for the learned and cultured. And although we do not find any mention to the existence of popular forms, it can be conceived that the masses had their own performances for recreation in which dance played an important role. These forms had more or less an unrestricted natural growth according to the mood, taste and life of the common people and the prevalent situations in the society. Their number was getting larger. Their form was constantly changing. To get recognition they were trying to imbibe the technical details of the drama of the elite. The points of differences of some of the forms were becoming small and they were getting mixed up. So, the endeavor here is to present what all did the various forms of dramatic representations go through.

Forms of Dance

Music and bodily movement are requisite parts of any performance. The individual performer in an ensemble may be a specialist in music or acting dance but each specialist also must have an intimate knowledge of the other arts. It is necessary for a successful performance.

Spectacular representations involving abhinaya fall under the category of Dṛśyakāvya, the poetic composition which is seen and enjoyed. Nāṭya and drama are the general terms to be used for such representations in Sanskrit and English respectively. According to Sage Bharata, the earliest author on Indian dramaturgy, whose work is available to us, it is the imitation of the actions of all begins in the three worlds:

त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य, नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम् । (NŚ, 1, 7)

Powerful emotional expressions and the descriptions of the situations are not required in the drama to the extent they are needed in Śravyakāvya in Dṛśyakāvya, the actors present those emotional circumstances in person and evoke rasas. The main purpose of any Kāvya is to evoke rasa in the mind of the sahṛdayas. The different between the two types of compositions is in the means of achieving that purpose.

The appeal of drama is said to be greater than that of other poetic compositions. Even a common person can understand the enacted drama

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and enjoy it. It produces as far as possible, the different moods of the people by way of gestures before the eyes of the spectators. It is made delightful with songs and dance is beautiful and variegated like the picture board:

अनुभावानां वर्णना काव्यमुच्यते ।
तेषामेव प्रयोगस्तु नाट्यं गीतादिरञ्जितम् ।।
(*Vāṅmayaviveka*, Ch. I, p.20)

Also,
तद्धि चित्रं चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात् ।
(*Abhinavabhārati*, I, p.288)

Abhinavagupta, great commentator on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is of the opinion that drama is the perfect form of literary composition. It has the nearest approach of relating when enacted, Kālidāsa, the great dramatist of India, also established that it is the one means which provides enjoyment simultaneously to the people of various tastes in different ways.[1]

We can find some stray verses in the books on dramaturgy, attributed to Kohala, in which he classifies the plays into Nāṭya and Mārga types. According to *Vāṅmayaviveka* of Cintāmaṇimiśra, Kohala pleased Mahādeva and Pārvatī and obtained from them, the dramas in two parts, known as Mārga and Nāṭya, of twenty different varieties. Ten types of Nāṭakas are known as Nāṭyas, where as Nāṭika, Prakaraṇī, Bhāṇikā, Hāsikā, Ḍīmikā, Vyāyoginī kalā, Utsāhavatī, Citrā, Vicitrā, Jugupsitā are the ten kinds of Mārgas. Again the Deśyās are sixteen in number, Dattila, Mātaṅga and Kohala by employing their own imagination divided these Deśyas out of different dramas by permitting different rasas and experimenting with different actors. They are known as Saṭṭaka, Troṭaka, Goṣṭhī, Vṛndaka, Śilpaka, Hallosaka, Ullāsaka, Rāsaka, Śrīgadita, Nāṭya, Lāsaka, Prastāva, Lāsikā, Samlāpaka, Preṅkṣaṇa, and Sambhavya. As the works of these writers are not available, the characteristics features of these varieties as given by them cannot be traced.

The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana mentions the names of two varieties, Hallīsaka and Nāṭyarāsaka.

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हल्लीसकक्रीडनकैः गायनैर्नाट्यरासकैः। (*Kāmasūtra* II, 10, 25)

The *Agnipurāṇa* also gives a list of twenty seven varieties, without making a distinction between the major and the minor ones. Rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin in also mention some varieties. Bhāmaha points out that Dvīpadi, Śamyā, Rāsaka, Skandhaka etc., were intended for Abhinaya. Lāsya, Chalika, Śamyā etc., are called Prekṣārtha varieties by Daṇḍin. But there is no regular description of these varieties till the time of Abhinavagupta. It is he, who brought into light, the names of several spectacular varieties along with their features, by making references to the older dramatists: तदुक्तं चिरन्तनैः without specifying their names. These are Ḍombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāna, Ṣidgaka, Bhāṇika, Preraṇā, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Hallīsaka, Rāsaka and Kāvya. Abhinavagupta uses the terms Geyamānarūpakas and Nṛttaprabandhas for these varieties on the basis on the predominance of music and dance in each one of them. The types Ḍombikā, Rāsaka etc had their themes in songs and were in acted by dancing – movements at the time of Abhinavagupta. Most of them were dances without the details of Sandhis Sandhyangas found in the Rūpaka types. They differed from the plays in which different roles were enacted by different persons and Vācikābhinaya found the prominent place. But all of them were not dumb dance as in generally perceived. In some of the examples cited for these plays Vācikābhinaya is also seen, though it is very little.

These dance varieties were mainly useful as means of entertainment for common people. It may be, as already said, because of this character, that Bharata left the job of discussing these varieties which were prevalent among the lower strata of society, for Kohala. These musical compositions were based on the subjects such as drinking, playing in water, mutual decorations etc. and on the topics were suitable to women in the company of their husbands. Some of them were comedies. They were mainly composed in Jātyābhāsas as Sanskrit was the language of the learned.

These compositions were mostly enacted on the streets in gatherings, temples, squares etc where any spectator could move in. The purpose of these dance varieties like that of Rūpakas was also, besides entertainment, to teach the principle objects of human life. This was

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done by way of Arthāntaranyāsa, Dṛṣṭānta, etc. Fables were also used for this purpose.

As to the evolution of these types, it is possible that some of the Nṛtya verities were very old. The use of the root *nṛt* in Vedas suggests that it is older than the root *naṭ*. In later periods, both of them were used to denote the same meaning. नट नृत्तौ. for a long time and their meanings were usually interchangeable. We find various expressions in our literature, such as they danced a play; a Saṭṭaka is to be danced: सट्टाकं नच्चिदव्वम्,[3] नाटकं ननर्तुः etc. (*Harivamśa*, Viṣṇuparva, 93, 28). Both the arts depended on each other. Gradually, they began to specify different meanings. Both had their own directions of progress, influencing each other and naturally imbibing the features of one another. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* codified the Nāṭya varieties, calling them Daśarūpa and leaving the work of grouping other types for Kohala, as already stated.

The term 'Rūpa' in the word Daśarūpaka signifying the Nāṭya varieties, is derived from the root *rūp* in the meaning of acting or showing. The words 'Rūpayati', 'Rūpayitvā' are often used in Sanskrit drama to denote stage representations. The term 'Rūpa' developed into 'Rūpaka' at the time of Dhanañjaya because of the visual character of such varieties and also since the events and emotions dealt with in them are represented in the person of the actors. After the time of Dhanañjaya, the word Rūpaka came to be used as a general term for drama.

Abhinaya is common to all dances. It has been categorized in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* into four pages. They are Āṅgikā, Vācikā, Āhārya and Sātvika. Āṅgikābhinaya is the Abhinaya expressed through the limbs. Ideas and emotions are beautifully displayed through various parts of the body. Vācikābhinaya indicates the use of language, regulation of the tone of voice, accent and rhythm which can bring out the lyrical qualities of the play. Āhāryabhinaya is related to the costumes and make-up of the actor in his various roles. This is depicted through the costumed and other decorations of the body. Sātvikābhinaya or the Abhinaya of the mind denotes the eight conditions viz. stoppage of action perspiration etc. The rhythmic exposition of moods sentiments and ideas by means of gestures, facial expression and movements of the body is called Abhinaya.

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Dhanañjaya has also explained the terms Nāṭya, Nṛtya and Nṛtta in his *Daśarūpaka.* According to him, Nṛtta is based on Tāla and Laya; Nṛtya on Bhāvas and Nāṭya on the imitation of Avasthās. He also states that dramatic representations depicting rasa and bhāva fall under two categories, the rasāśraya and the bhāvāśraya. According to Dhanañjaya, Abhinaya is complete with all its four phases viz. Sātvika, Vācikā, Āṅgikā and Āhārya in Nāṭya or Rasātmaka varieties.

Dance finds its place in this class of dramas only to heighten the effect. It enhances the beauty of these plays and thus occupies only a subsidiary position. Following Bharata, Dhanañjaya has dealt with only the Rūpaka types along with Nāṭika in his *Daśarūpaka.*

Avaloka, the commentary on *Daśarūpaka* also mentions seven types of Nṛtyabhedas.[4] The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja adds Nāṭika and Saṭṭaka to the ten Rūpakas.

Hemacandra enumerates twelve types of Pāthyarūpakas like Bhoja but ends the list with the word Ādi. By the word Ādi, he means the varieties like Troṭaka etc.[5]

The number of Geya types is also twelve and the word Ādi is used at the end of this list also. Here the word Ādi, he means the types of Śamya, Chalita, Dvipadī etc.[6]

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* mentions he ten varieties of Rūpakas and calls Nāṭika and Prakaraṇī as the Saṅkīrṇa types. It says that other Saṅkīrṇa types are also possible by mixing two or three Rūpakas. As they are not in common vague and also not very interesting they have not been defined.[7]

But, at the end of this work, the author has enumerated thirteen more varieties though in the vṛttī portion only, because they were not mentioned by his predecessors and also they were less entertaining.[8]

Śāradātanaya, in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* gives the longest list of the spectacular representations which are thirty in numbers. Out of these ten are the rasātmaka types and twenty are bhāvātmaka.[9]

Ten rasātmaka types are the same as those of Bharata. The bhāvātmaka types are Troṭaka, Nāṭikā, Goṣṭhī, Sallāpa, Śilpaka, Ḍombi, Śrīgadita, Bhāṇī, Prasthāna, Kāvya, Preṅkṣaṇa, Hallīsaka, Durmallikā, Mallikā, Kalpavallī and Pārijātaka. In another list of

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bhāvātmaka a varieties given in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Bhāṇa is mentioned and that of Saṭṭaka is omitted. The Saṭṭaka is called a variety of Nāṭika.

According to Viśvanātha, there are ten Rūpaka varieties and eighteen Uparūpaka varieties. He also states that the general characteristics of all these spectacular representations are more or less the same as those of Nāṭaka.[10]

The *Saṅgītadāmodara* of Śubhaṅkara enumerates seventeen Uparūpaka varieties which are the same as those mentioned by Viśvanātha leaving out Prakaraṇikā.

The number of varieties mentioned in the different works on dramaturgy, the Śāstras, the Purāṇas and some works of rhetoricians under the names Prekṣārtha varieties, Mārgi types, Deśi types, Nṛtyaprakārāḥ, Nṛtyarūpakas, Geyarūpakas, Anyarūpakas and lastly Uparūpakas goes to forty three. These are Nāṭitā, Troṭaka, Saṭṭaka, Ḍombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāna, Hallīsaka, Kāvya, Goṣṭhī, Durmallikā, Preṅkṣaṇa, Sallāpa, Śilpaka, Mallikā, Kalpavallī, Pārijātaka, Prakaraṇikā, Ṣidgaka, Bhāṇīkā, Rāmakrīḍā, Prasthāna, Preraṇa, Rāsaka, Śrīgaditā, Nartānaka, Prekṣaṇaka, Natyarāsaka, Ullopyaka, Vilāsikā, Śamyā, Chālika, Dvīpadi, Skandhaka, Hāsikā, Ḍimikā, Viyoginī, Kalotsāhavitī, Citrā, Jugupsitā, Citratālā, Blindaka, Lāsikā, Lasakā, Vāra and Karṇa. In the absence of the details about some of them in the existing works and also due to the unavailability of some of the older works, we are not able to give the characteristic features of those varieties. We know them only by their names. The features of some of these varieties intermingle to a large extent with others or overlap them and this makes us think that they might be one and the same variety with minor differences such as in the names Lāsika and Vilāsikā. Similarly Ṣidgaka and Śilpaka may also be taken as one and the same variety. Bhoja has mentioned Śamya, Chalita and Dvīpadi as the varieties of Nartanaka.

After comparing and considering the minor differences in the names and the similarities of the features and also the non-availability of any information about some, the number of those varieties about which we get some knowledge comes to twenty-six. These are Nāṭitā, Troṭaka, Saṭṭaka, Prakaraṇikā, Ḍombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāna, Ṣidgaka or Śilpaka, Bhāṇīkā, Preraṇa, Rāmakrīḍā, Hallīsaka, Rāsaka, Kāvya, Śrīgaditā,

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Goṣṭhī, Durmallikā, Nartānaka, Prekṣaṇaka, Natyarāsaka, Sallāpaka, Ullopyaka, Mallikā, Kalpavallī, Pārijātaka, Vilāsikā. The number of Rūpaka varieties as mentioned by Bharata is ten. To mark a distinction among these varieties named by Bharata, the four Sankīrṇa types which mostly derived their characteristics from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, and the remaining, as the Bhāvātmaka varieties.

Conclusion

In Ṛgveda Goddess Uṣas is compared to a dancer. *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* tells us that to worship God by Nṛtta is to fulfill all desire and to him who dances the paths of salvation are unfolded. The dancer, as he undergoes mystical experiences in the dance, communicates the same to the audience. In other words, dance becomes the expressions of the experience of revelation and complete union with God, which leads us to believe that dance and all other fine arts have not only a utilitarian function but also a spiritual and cultural function in India.

At the early stage of development, three different facet of movement, all of which are still used in performance today, were recognized. Three forms of dance are still used in performance. They are Nṛtta or pure abstract or decorative dance. Nṛtya mime or gestures, is based on interpretation of the narrative content of performance. The last is Nāṭya which is considered as a performance in which acting and dance are combined in dramatic form.

Nṛtya means expression. It comes from the mind and is shown through the face and eyes. Nṛtya is based on a theme or story. In the Bharatanāṭyam 'Padam' is one of the Nṛtya item.

India has a secular heritage of ritual, folk and classical arts. Indian cultural dance is basically divided into three major categories. They are expressed in the forms of Nṛtta. It is pure dance which includes the basic dance steps and the variation of foot movements. For example in Bharatanāṭya 'Alārippu' is one of the Nṛtta item.

Nāṭya includes the dramatic representation of stories from mythology. In Bharatanāṭya 'Varṇam' is one of the Nāṭya items. Using the body as a medium of communication, the expression of dance is perhaps the most intricate and developed, yet easily understood art form. The fascination for Indian dance all over the world is indicative of the deep-

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felt need to use the human body to express and elaborate the great universal truths. Indian dance does just that in a heightened, reverential form. Also, since dance is physical and visual, it illuminates India's cultural in a direct manner, playing on the sensibilities of the onlooker. Thus, those who are attracted to India will find the idiom of dance the best introduction to India's rich ethos and traditions.

Notes

1. नाट्यं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्य बहुधाप्येकं समाराधनम् । (*Mālavikāgnimitram*, I, 4)
2. *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 39
3. *Kāvyamañjarī*, p. 9
4. डोम्बी श्रीगदितं भाणो भाणी प्रस्थानरासकाः।
   काव्यं च सप्त नृत्यस्य भेदास्स्युस्तेऽपि भाणवत्।। (*Avaloka*, p.2)
5. आदिशब्दात् कोहलादिलक्षितास्तोटकादये ग्राह्याः। (*Kaviśikṣā*, p. 390)
6. गेयं डोम्बिकाभाणप्रस्थानशिङ्गभाणिकाप्रेरणारामाक्रीडहल्लीसकरासेकगोष्ठीश्रीगदितरागकाव्यादि।
   (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, p.391)
7. एते च द्वे अपि मुख्यरूपकसङ्करनिष्पन्नत्वात् सङ्कीर्णभेदरूपे।
   एवमन्येऽपि सङ्करभेदाः रूपकद्वयत्रयादिसाङ्कर्येण सम्भवन्ति, परनदृष्टत्वादरञ्जकत्वाच्च न ते लक्ष्यन्त इति।।
   (*Nārāyaṇadarpaṇa*, p.708)
8. एतानि च स्वल्पमात्ररञ्जनानि निमित्तत्वात्।
   वृद्धैरनभिहितत्वाच्च वृत्तावेव कीर्तितानि।। (*Nārāyaṇadarpaṇa*, p.708)
9. त्रिंशद्रूपकभेदाश्च प्रकाश्यतेऽत्र लक्षणैः।
   रसात्मकाः दशैतेषु विंशद्भावात्मकाः मताः।। (*Bhāvaprakāśa*, p.221)
10. विना विशेषं सर्वेषां लक्ष्म नाटकवान्मतम्।
    सर्वेषां प्रकरणादिरूपकाणां नाटकाद्युपरूपकाणां च। (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI, p.708)

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भावविकारवाचकशब्दाः

वि. आर्. मनोज्

भवते स्वपदार्थे भवनं भावः। सन्मात्रं भावलिङ्गं स्यादित्यभियुक्तोक्तेः। भावस्य विकाराः भावविकाराः। भावः सत्तास्वभावाभिप्रायचेष्टात्मजन्मस्वित्यमरोऽपि। परिणामो विकारः। वृद्धिविकासादयोऽल्पत्वदरिद्रत्वादयश्चात्रान्तर्भूताः। प्रकृते सत्तादिषट्को भावशब्देन विवक्षितः।

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते। अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते। (ब्रह्मकाण्डम् - १२३) इति हरिवचनानुसारेण चराचराणामभिव्यक्तये शब्दव्यवहारस्य अनुपेक्षणीयत्वादाविर्भावतिरोभावपर्यन्तेषु भावविकारेषु आविर्भावस्य जनिः सिद्धिरित्यादिभिः शब्दैस्तथा तिरोभावस्य मृत्युर्नाश इत्यादिभिश्शब्दैश्च व्यवहारोऽभ्युपगम्यते। एवमेव स्थितिः परिणतिः वृद्धिः क्षतिरित्यादितत्तच्छब्दवाच्याः तन्मध्यभावाः। तथा हि जायते अस्ति विपरिणमते वर्धते अपक्षीयते नश्यति इति षड् भावविकारा भवन्तीत्याचार्यो वार्ष्यायणिः।

निरुक्तकारस्ततो भावविकारान्प्रत्येकान्वर्णयित्वान्तेऽथ इम एव भावविकाराः सन्ति किं वान्येऽपीत्यपेक्षायमुपक्रमते - अतोऽन्ये भावविकारा एतेषामेव विकारा भवन्तीतिह स्माह इति। अर्थादस्माद् भावविकारषट्काद्येऽन्ये भावविकारा लक्ष्यन्ते ते पृथक्पृथगत्यन्तभिन्ना अपि सन्तः एतेषामेव विकारा भवन्ति। तद्यथा जनिशब्दवाच्यो भावविकारोऽनेकैरवान्तरभेदैरनेकैः पर्यायैः यथा उद्भवति सम्भवति निष्पद्यत इत्येवमादिभिरभिव्यज्यते। तद्वदस्तिशब्दवाच्यो भावविकारोऽनेकप्रभेदभिन्नोऽनेकपर्यायवचनश्चास्ति विद्यते वर्तते इत्येवमादिभिरभिव्यक्तो भवति। तथा विपरिणमते जीर्यति विवर्तते इत्येवमादिभिः विपरिणमति-शब्दवाच्यो भावविकारोऽभिव्यज्यते। एवं वर्द्धते-शब्दवाच्यो वर्धते पुष्यति वर्हति इत्येवं प्रकारः। तथापक्षीयति-शब्दवाच्यो ध्वस्यति दलति वशीर्यते इत्येवं रूपः। अन्ते च विनश्यति शब्दवाच्यो विनश्यति म्रियते विलीयते इत्येवमादिभिरभिव्यज्यते।

तथा चाचार्योऽभिप्रैति यदेते सर्व एव धातवो भाववचनास्तेषां सर्वेषामिहाध्ययने प्राप्ते शास्त्रातिगौरवभयादेतल्लक्षणमुत्सृष्टमिति। सोऽयमुपरिष्टादुक्तो लक्षणसङ्ग्रहोऽस्य लेखस्योपक्रमाय कल्पितः। यतो हि तत्पर्यायज्ञानमध्येतॄणां महते उपकाराय भविष्यतीति प्रतीमः। अतो भावविकारवाचकाः शब्दाः सावान्तरभेदाः प्रबन्धेऽस्मिन् प्रस्तोष्यन्ते। यास्काचार्यस्य निरुक्तं दुर्गाचार्यकृतां व्याख्यां काव्यश्चावलम्ब्यायं लेखः प्रस्तूयते।

१. जनिः। उद्भवति सम्भवति फलति निर्वर्तते प्ररोहति जायते उत्पद्यते राध्यति सिद्ध्यति निष्पद्यते राध्नोति साध्नोति इत्येते जनिबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते।

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तदर्थं विवृण्वन् जायत इति पूर्वभावस्यादिमाचष्टे नापरभावमाचष्टे न प्रतिषेधतीति यास्कः। पूर्वभावो नाम प्रादुर्भावस्यादिः। प्रादुर्भावष्ठोपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तः। यथा वा बीजावपनात्प्रसवपर्यन्तम्। अत एव पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्टे व्रजति पजतीत्युपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तमितीतः पूर्वत्र निरुक्ते प्रस्तुतम्। उपक्रमश्च जायमानस्यानवधृतरूपं बोधयति। तस्यामवस्थायां किमपि जायत इत्येतदनुमानगम्यं भवति। अपवर्गस्तावद् भूतसामान्ये निष्ठान्तशब्दवाच्यो भवति। यथा जात इति। तस्याञ्चावस्थायां नासज्जायत इति न्यायेन विद्यमानमपि अपरं भावमस्तित्वरूपमस्ति भवति विद्यते इत्येतच्छब्दवाच्यं नाचष्टे। प्रत्युत जायते इत्येवोच्यते जनेरपरिपूर्णत्वात्। अत एवापवर्गस्तावद् भूतसामान्ये निष्ठान्तशब्दवाच्यो भवति यथा जात इत्युपरिष्टादवोचाम। अत एवानवधृतरूपं हि तस्यामवस्थायां तद्भवत्यनुमानगम्यं किमपि जायत इति। नापि प्रतिषेधति। अस्तित्वस्य प्रतिषेधं न करोतीत्यर्थः। यतो ह्यस्तित्वं प्रतिषेधन्ननात्मक एव स्याद् कमालम्ब्य जायेत। तदवधारणकालस्योपस्थिततत्वाच्चेति दुर्गाचार्यः। सर्वमेतत्सङ्गृह्योक्तं जायत इति पूर्वभावास्यादिमाचष्टे नापरभावमाचष्टे न प्रतिषेधति इति। 'जनुर्जननजन्मानि जनिरुत्पत्तिरुद्भव' इत्यमरो जनिपर्यायानाह।

उद्भवति सम्भवति फलति निर्वर्तते प्ररोहति जायते उत्पद्यते राध्यति सिद्ध्यति निष्पद्यते राध्नोति साध्नोति इत्येतेषु जनिबोधकेषु पर्यायेषु उद्भवत्यादिप्ररोहतिपर्यन्ताः भौव्वादिकाः। आद्यौ उत् सम् पूर्वकाद् भू सत्तायाम् (भ्वा.१) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नौ। कालिदासकृतौ कुमारसम्भवशब्दोऽत्र दृष्टान्तः। सम्भवशब्दस्यात्रोद्भवो जनिरर्थः। तथा हि काव्ये-

'तदिच्छामो विभो सृष्टं सेनान्यं तस्य शान्तये।
कर्मबन्धच्छिदं धर्मं भवस्येव मुमुक्षवः।।
(कुमारसम्भवम् - २.५१)

इति देवैः प्रार्थितो ब्रह्म अभ्यनुजानाति -

'सम्पत्स्यते वः कामोऽयं कालः कश्चित्प्रतीक्ष्यताम्।
न त्वस्य सिद्धौ यास्यामि सर्गव्यापारमात्मना।।'
(कुमारसम्भवम् - २.५४)

इति। सिद्धिशब्दोऽप्यत्र तमेवार्थमाख्यातुं प्रयुक्तो दृश्यताम्। फलति इति फल निष्पत्तौ (भ्वा.५३०) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। भक्तिस्त्वयि स्थिरतरा भगवन्यदि स्याद्दैवेन नः फलति दिव्यकिशोरमूर्तिरिति लीलाशुकः (कृष्ण.१०७)। निर्वर्तत इति निरुपसर्गपूवकाद् वृतु वर्तने (भ्वा. ७५८) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। प्ररोहतीति प्रवूर्वात् रुह बीजजन्मनि प्रादुर्भावे च (भ्वा. ८६०) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। न जातु वैनायकमेकमुद्धृतं विषाणमद्यापि पुनः प्ररोहतीति माघः (शिशु.१.६०)

अथ जायत इत्यारभ्य निष्पद्यते इति यावत् देवादिकाः। जायत इति जनी प्रादुर्भावे (दिवा.११५०) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'असंशयं मृत्युरिति प्रजानतो नरस्य रागो हृदि यस्य जायत' इत्यश्वघोषः (बुद्ध ४: ९९)। उत्पद्यत इति उत्पूर्वात् पद गतौ (दिवा. ११७०) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। राध्यति इति

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राधोऽकर्मकाद्वृद्धावेव (दिवा. ११८१) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। दैवं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थे विप्रश्ने आयत्तौ पाके च राध्यतीति प्रयोगो दृश्यते। सिद्ध्यति इति षिधु संराद्धौ (दिवा. ११९३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। सिद्धे निर्वृत्तनिष्पन्नावित्यमरः। निष्पद्यते इति निरुपसर्गपूर्वात् पद गतौ (दिवा. ११७०) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः। शब्दो निष्पद्यत इत्यादौ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययाद्यन्वयेन वाक्येषु प्रयोक्तुं योग्यस्य शास्त्रीयस्य शब्दस्य निष्पत्तिरर्थः। अत्र प्रकृतिप्रत्ययाः कल्पिताः प्रक्रियालाघवार्थम्। नाम शब्दोऽस्त्येव। भविष्यति च। शास्त्रीयप्रक्रियाद्वारा निष्पादनेन सम्प्राप्तिर्नाम तच्छब्दावगमो लक्षितः एतेन शब्दस्य नित्यत्वहानिः नास्ति। प्रयोगनैरन्तर्यात्। अत एव पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्ट इति सङ्गतार्थम्। अन्त्यौ राध्नोति साध्नोति इत्येतौ राध साध संसिद्धौ (स्वा. १२६३, १२६४) इत्येतयो रूपे। अन्नरन्धनमित्यादावन्नस्य तण्डुलेभ्यो विक्लिन्नस्योदनस्य पाकद्वारा सम्प्रातिरर्थः।

१. स्थितिः। भवति मठति वर्तते स्थलति तिष्ठति अवतिष्ठते वसति आस्ते अस्ति विद्यते ध्रियते क्षियति इत्येते स्थितिबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते।

स्यादास्या त्वासना स्थितिरित्यमरः। स्थितिः सत्ता। सतो भाव इत्यर्थः। द्रव्यगुणकर्मवृत्तौ कालसम्बन्धेन विद्यमानतायाञ्च प्रयुज्यते। उत्पन्नस्य सत्वस्यावधारणं सत्तेति निरुक्तम्। न विपरिणाममुत्तरकालिकमाचष्टे अपूर्णत्वात्। न तं प्रतिषेधति उपस्थितत्वादिति तद्व्याख्याने दुर्गाचार्यः।

भवति मठति वर्तते स्थलति तिष्ठति अवतिष्ठते वसति आस्ते अस्ति विद्यते ध्रियते क्षियति इत्येतेषु स्थितिबोधकेषु पर्यायेषु भवत्यादिवसतिपर्यन्ताः भ्वादौ। ततो द्वावादादिकौ। विद्यत इति दिवादौ। अन्त्यौ तौदादिकौ। भवतीति भू सत्तायाम् (भ्वा. १) इत्यस्य रूपम्। प्रायः सर्वो भवति करुणावृत्तिरार्द्रान्तरात्मेति कालिदासः (मेघ. २.३०)। मठति इति मठ मदनिवासयोः (भ्वा.३३२) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः। वर्तते इति वृतु वर्तने (भ्वा. ७५८) इत्यस्य रूपम्। हृदि परं न बहिः खलु वर्तते सखि यतस्तव एव विषद्यत इति श्रीहर्षः (नैष. ४.१०८)। स्थलति इत्येतत् ष्ठल स्थाने (भ्वा. ८३७) इत्यतो निष्पन्नम्। तिष्ठति इति ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ (भ्वा. ९२९) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। अयं स ते तिष्ठति सङ्गमोत्सुको विशङ्कसे भीरु यतोऽवधीरणामिति कालिदासः (शाकु. ३.१२) अवतिष्ठत इत्यत्रावपूर्व ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ (भ्वा. ९२९)। 'समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः' (पा.सू. १.३.२२) इत्यात्मनेपदम्। क्षणमप्यवतिष्ठते श्वसन्यदि जन्तुर्ननु लाभवानसाविति कालिदासः (रघु. ८.८७) वसति, इत्यत्र वस निवासे (भ्वा. १००६) इति धातुः। हृदये वसतीति मत्प्रियं यदवोचस्तदवैमि कैतवमिति कालिदासः (कुमा. ४.९)। आस्ते इति आस उपवेशने (अदा. १०२२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। 'यस्ते नवः पल्लवितः कराभ्यां स्मितेन यः कोरकितस्तवास्त' इति श्रीहर्षः (नैष. ३.१२१)। अस्ति इति अस भुवि (अदा. १०६६) इत्यस्य रूपम्। "हृदय एव तवास्ति स वल्लभस्तदपि किं दमयन्ति विषीदसी'ति श्रीहर्षः (नैष.४.१०८)। विद्यते इति विद सत्तायाम् (दिवा. ११७२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'अवाप्यते वा किमियद्भवत्या चित्तैकपद्यामपि विद्यते य इति श्रीहर्षः (नैष. ३.६३)। ध्रियते इति धृङ् अवस्थाने (तुदा. १४१३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'द्वारि ध्रियते रामो दिदृक्षते' सत्यपूतं त्वा'मिति हरदत्तसूरिः (राघव. १.४७) क्षियतीति क्षि निवासगत्योः (तुदा. १४०८) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः।

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३. परिणतिः। जीवति बलति श्वसिति अनिति अन्यते ऊर्जयति प्राणिति समनिति उदनिति व्यनिति अपानिति आतङ्कति कठति क्षञ्जयति विवर्तते कल्पते परिणमति परिणमते सम्पद्यते मस्यति इत्येते परिणतिबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते।

परिणामो विकार इति प्रकृतेरन्यथाभावे। विपूर्वः डुकृञ् करणे (तना. १४७३) इत्यस्माद् 'भावे' (पा. सू. ३.३.१८) इति घञ्। परिणामो विकारे द्वे इत्यमरः। परिणमत इत्यप्रच्यवमानस्य तत्वाद्विकारमिति यास्कः। अप्रच्यवमानस्येत्यस्य तत्वादपभ्रश्यमानस्येत्यर्थः। तद्भावस्तत्वम्।

तत्वात्तद्भावादस्तित्वात्पुरुषत्वाद्वा विकारं विक्रियामात्रं ब्रवीति।
न वृद्धिमाचष्टे अपूर्णत्वान्न च तां प्रतिषेधति उपस्थितत्वात् ।।

इति दुर्गाचार्यः। परिणामो विकारो द्वे समे विकृतिविक्रिये इत्यमरः। तत्राद्या षट् जीवस्य परिणतिं बोधयन्ति।

वाङ्मनःप्राणकरणग्रामानुप्रविष्टे ब्रह्मणि।
प्राणान् क्षेत्रज्ञरूपेण धारयन् जीव उच्यते।।

घटावच्छिन्नाकाशवच्छरीरत्रितयावच्छिन्ने चैतन्ये। जीवोऽसुदारणमित्यमरः। जीवति बलति श्वसिति अनिति अन्यते ऊर्जयति इत्येतेषु षट्स्वाद्यौ भ्वादी। अपरावादादिकौ। उपान्त्यो दिवादिः। अन्त्यश्चुरादिः। जीवतीति जीव प्राणधारणे (भ्वा. ५६२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। 'म्रियते म्रियमाणे या त्वयि जीवति जीवती'ति हर्षदेवः (नाग. ४.१७)। बलति इति बल प्राणने धान्यावरोधे च (भ्वा. ८४१) इत्यस्य रूपम्। श्वसितीति श्वस प्राणने (अदा. १०७०) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। 'अथ कले कलयं श्वसिति स्फुटं चलति पक्ष्मचले परिभावये'ति श्रीहर्षः (नैष. ४.११३)। अनिति इति अन प्राणने (अदा. १०७१) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। अन्यते इति अन प्राणने (दिवा. ११७६) इत्यस्माज्जायते। अण इति पाठान्तरम्। अतः पक्षे अण्यते। ऊर्जयति इति ऊर्ज बलप्राणनयोः (चुरा. १५५०) इत्यस्य रूपम्।

ततः प्राणिति समनिति उदनिति व्यनिति अपानिति इत्येते पञ्च प्राणवृत्तिषु प्रयुज्यन्ते। पुंसि भूम्न्यसवः प्राणा इत्यमरः। प्राणानां वृत्तिर्व्यापारः प्राणवृत्तिः। पञ्चवृत्तिके देहस्थे वायौ। यथाक्रमं प्र सम् उद् व्य (वि+अ) अप इत्येवम्पूर्वकस्य अन प्राणने (अदा. १०७१) इत्यस्यामुनि रूपाणि। प्राणितीत्यत्र 'अनितेः' (पा.सू. ८.४.१९) इति णत्वम्। प्राणोऽपानः समानश्चोदानव्यानौ चेति पञ्च वायवः। हृदि प्राणो गुदेऽपानः समानो नाभिमण्डले। उदानः कण्ठदेशे स्याद्व्यानः सर्वशरीरगः इति तत्सथानानि। अन्नप्रवेशनं मूत्राद्युत्सर्गोऽन्नविपाचनम्। भाषणादिनिमेषादि तद्व्यापाराः क्रमादमी। इति तत्कर्माणि।

तत आतङ्कति कठति क्षञ्जयति इति त्रयः कृच्छ्रजीवे प्रयुज्यन्ते। स्यात्कष्टं कृच्छ्रमित्यमरः। एष्वाद्यौ भ्वादी। अन्त्यश्चुरादिः आतङ्कति इति आ तकि कृच्छ्रजीवने (भ्वा.११८) इत्यस्य रूपम्। कठति इति कठ कृच्छ्रजीवने (भ्वा. ३३३) इत्यतो जायते। क्षञ्जयतीति क्षजि कृच्छ्रजीवने (चुरा. १६२२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। क्वचित् छजि इति पाठः। तन्मते छञ्जयति। अन्त्याश्च विवर्तते कल्पते परिणमति परिणमते सम्पद्यते मस्यति इत्येते पञ्च परिणामसामान्ये

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प्रयुज्यन्ते। परिणामो विकार इत्यमरः परिणाममात्रमिह विवक्षितम्। एतेष्वाद्यास्त्रयो भौवादिकाः। अन्त्यौ दिवादि।

विवर्तते इति विपूर्वस्य वृतु वर्तने (भ्वा. ७५८) इत्यस्य रूपम्। कल्पते इति कृपू सामर्थ्ये (भ्वा. ७६२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। परिणमति इति परिपूर्वस्य णम प्रह्वत्वे शब्दे च (भ्वा. ९८२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। परिणमते इति परिपूर्वात् णम प्रह्वत्वे शब्दे च (भ्वा. ९८२) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः। सम्पद्यते इति सम्पूर्वस्य पद गतौ (दिवा. ११७०) इत्यस्य रूपम्। मस्यतीति मसी परिणामे (दिवा. १२२२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। मसी स्थाने समी इत्येके। तन्मते सम्यति।

४. वृद्धिः एधते विकचते स्फोटते वठति विजृम्भते फुल्लति क्रम्यते क्रमते स्फायते स्फीतीभवति आप्यायते प्यायते उन्मीलति पीवति मीवति तीवति नीवति वंहते मंहते पूषति पोषति बर्हति बृंहति वर्धते प्रथते प्रसते विपोलति विकसति श्वयति तौति तवीति पुष्यति आपूर्यते पुष्यति ऋध्यति ऋध्नोति स्फुटति विपोलयति स्थूलयते महीयते इत्येते वृद्धिबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते। स्फातिर्वृद्धावित्यमरः।

५. वर्धत इति स्वाङ्गाभ्युच्चयं सांयौगिकानां वार्थानाम् इति निरुक्तम्। दुर्गाचार्यस्तमित्थं प्रपञ्चयति - व्याख्याने वर्धत इत्येष शब्दः स्वेषामङ्गानां शिरोग्रीवाबाहूदरादीनामभ्युच्चयमभ्युच्चिततां (सञ्चयं) ब्रवीति। सांयौगीकानां संयोगजनितानां वा अर्थानां हिरण्यधान्यादीनामभ्युच्चयं ब्रवीतीति पूर्वेणाभिसम्बध्यतेऽर्थवशात्। तत्प्रयोगमाह वर्धते विजयेनेति वा वर्धते शरीरेणेति वेति निरुक्ते। व्याख्याने तावदत्राद्यमवरोहणक्रमेण सांयौगिकेषूदाहरणं द्वितीयं स्वाङ्गाभ्युच्चये। अत्र वर्धत इति ब्रुवाणो नापक्षयमाचष्टेऽपूर्णत्वात्। नापि तं प्रतिषेधति उपस्थितत्वादिति।

वठत्यादि श्वयत्यन्ताः भौवादिकाः। तौति तवीतीत्येतौ छान्दसौ। पुष्यति इत्यारभ्य मेध्यत्यन्ताः दैवादिकाः। ऋध्नोति स्वादौ। स्फुटति तुदादौ। ततो द्वौ चुरादी। अन्त्यः कण्ड्वादिः। एधत इति एध वृद्धौ (भ्वा. २) इत्यस्य रूपम्। विकचत इति विपूर्वात् कच बन्धने (भ्वा. १६८) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। स्फोटते इति स्फुट विकसनो (भ्वा. २६०) इत्यतो जायते। वठति इति वठ स्थौल्ये (भ्वा. ३३१) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। विजृम्भत इति विपूर्वस्य जृभि गात्रविनामे (भ्वा. ३८९) इत्यस्य रूपम्। फुल्लति इति फुल्ल विकसने (भ्वा. ४३३) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। क्रमते क्रम्यते इति क्रमु पादविक्षेपे (भ्वा. ४७३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'अनुपसर्गाद्वा' (पा. सू.१.२.४३) इति पक्षे आत्मनेपदम्। 'वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्रुटिलषः' (पा. सू. ३.१७०) इति शब्विषये श्यन् विकल्पः। स्फायते इति स्फायी वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ४८७) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। स्फीतीभवति इति स्फायी वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ४८७) इत्यस्मात् क्तप्रत्यये 'स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्' (पा. सू. ६.१.१२२) इति स्फीभावे स्फीतशब्दाद् अभूततद्भावे इत्यनुवर्तमाने 'कृभ्वस्तियोगे सम्पद्यकर्तरि च्विः' (पा. सू. ५.४.५०) इति च्विः। ततश्च्व्यन्ताद् भवतेरनुपयोगः। आप्यायते इत्यत्र ओप्यायी वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ४८८) इति धातुः। प्यायत इत्यत्रापि ओप्यायी वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ४८८) इति धातुः। ओकारो धात्ववयवो नेति केचित्। तन्मते प्यायते इत्येतदपि तत एव धातोः निष्पन्नमवधेयम्। उन्मीलति

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इति उत्पूर्वस्य मील निमेषणे (भ्वा. ५१७) इत्यस्य रूपम्। पीवति इत्यत्र पीव स्थौल्ये (भ्वा. ५६३) इति धातुः। मीवति इति मीव स्थौल्ये (भ्वा. ५६४) इत्यस्य रूपम्। तीवति इति तीव स्थौल्ये (भ्वा. ५६५) इत्यतो जायते। नीवति इति णीव स्थौल्ये (भ्वा. ५६६) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। वंहते इति बहि वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ६३३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। क्वचिद् बंहते इति पठितं वबयोरभेदादित्यवधेयम्। मंहते इति महि वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ६३४) इत्यतो भवति। पूषति इति पूष वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ६७५) इत्यस्माज्जायते। पोषति इति पुष पुष्टौ (भ्वा. ७००) इत्यस्माद् भवति। बर्हति इति बृह वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ७३५) इत्यस्य रूपम्। बृंहति इति बृहि वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ७३६) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। वर्धते इति वृधु वृद्धौ (भ्वा. ७५९) इत्यस्य रूपम्। प्रथत इति प्रथ प्रख्याने (भ्वा. ७६५) इत्यस्माज्जायते। प्रसते इति प्रस विस्तारे (भ्वा. ७६६) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। विपोलति इति विपूर्वः पुल महत्वे (भ्वा. ८४२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। विकसति इति विपूर्वात् कस गतौ (भ्वा. ८६१) इत्यतो निष्पन्नम्। श्वयति इति टुओशिव गतिवृद्ध्योः (भ्वा. १०११) इत्यस्माज्जायते। तौति तवीति इत्येतौ छान्दसं विदुरिति भट्टमल्लकोशः। पुष्यति इति पुष्प विकसने (दिवा. ११२३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। आपूर्यते इति आ पूरी आप्यायने (दिवा. ११५२) इत्यतो जायते। पुष्यति इति पुष पुष्टौ (दिवा. ११८३) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'सूर्यापाये न खलु कमलं पुष्यति स्वामभिख्यामिति कालिदासः (मेघ. २.१७)। ऋध्यति इति ऋधु वृद्धौ (दिवा. १२४६) इत्यतो जायते। ऋध्नोति इति ऋधु वृद्धौ (स्वा. १२७२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। स्फुटति इति स्फुट विकसने (तुदा. १३७४) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नम्। ज्वलति पवनवृद्धः पर्वतानां दरीषु स्फुटति पटुनिनादैः शुष्कवंशस्थलीष्विति कालिदासः (ऋतु. १.२५)। विपोलयति इत्यत्र विपूर्वः पुल महत्वे (चुरा. १६०२) इत्ययं धातुः। स्थूलयते इति स्थूल परिबृंहणे (चुरा. १९०५) इत्यतो जायते। महीयते इति महीङ् पूजायाम् (कण्ड्वादिः) 'कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक्' (पा.सू. ३.१.२७) इति यक्। 'सनाद्यन्ता धातवः' (पा. सू. ३.१.३२) इति यगन्तस्य धातुत्वाल्लडादयः।

उपयुक्तेषु वृद्धिपर्यायेषु विकचते स्फोटते विजृम्भते फुल्लति उन्मीलति विकसति पुष्यति स्फुटति इत्येते विशेषतः विकासेऽर्थान्मुकुलीभूतस्योत्फुल्लतायां गम्यमानायां प्रयुक्ता दरीदृश्यन्ते।

५. क्षयः। अपक्षयति चुट्टयति चुण्डते द्राडते दरिद्राति दीयते दलति दस्यति फलति क्रुञ्चति ह्रसति जिनाति लिश्यते विशीर्यते जारयति जायति जीर्यति झीर्यति जरति जृणाति जूर्यते कृश्यति कुञ्चति कूणयति मीलति मुकुलीभवति पुट्टयति पूयते ध्राडते शटति सायति सीदति सङ्कुचति स्फोटति स्मीलति तस्यति व्यृध्नोति व्यृध्यति क्षायति शीयते क्ष्मीलति इत्येते क्षयबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते।

अपक्षीयत इत्यनेनैव व्याख्यातः प्रतिलोममिति निरुक्तम्। यथैव हि स्वाङ्गैः स्वांयौगिकैर्वा द्रव्यैरुपचीयते तथैवापक्षीयते। इत्येवमुपचयप्रयोगः पूर्वनिर्दिष्टः स अपक्षीयत इत्यनेनैव प्रतिलोमं विपरीतं व्याख्यातः। भवति हि वृद्धेः प्रतिलोममपक्ष्यः। प्रतिगतं लोम प्रतिलोमम्। तत्रापि नाचष्टे अपरभावं न वा प्रतिषेधतीति दुर्गाचार्यो व्याख्याति।

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क्षयो बहुमुखः क्वचिदुन्नीलतिस्य निमीलनेन नाशोन्मुखतोच्यते। क्वचिज्जीवतः जराजीर्णतारूपः। अपरत्र पत्रफलमूलादिविशरणरूपः। क्वचिद्ध्वासतापातनरूपो यो नाशपूर्वभावी। एकत्र धनधान्याद्याढ्यस्य दारिद्र्यरूपः। अन्यत्र शक्तेरपक्षयरूपः। एवञ्च क्षयस्य नानाप्रकारतया तद्वाचकशब्दबाहुल्यात्त इह प्रसिद्धार्थकतामाश्रित्य वर्गीक्रियन्ते। तथा हि -

सङ्कोचार्थका षट् सार्वत्रिकाः - मीलति स्मीलति क्ष्मीलति सङ्कुचति कूणयति मुकुलीभवतीत्येते सङ्कोचार्थकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यते। एतेषु षट्स्वाद्यास्त्रयो भ्वादौ ततस्तुदादिश्चुरादिश्च । अन्त्यष्टवयन्तः मीलति इति मील निमेषणे (भ्वा. ५१७) इत्यस्य रूपम्। स्मीलति इति स्मील निमेषणे (भ्वा. ५१९) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। क्ष्मीलति इति क्ष्मील निमेषणे (भ्वा. ५२०) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः। सङ्कुचति इति सम्पूर्वात् कुच सङ्कोचने (तुदा. १३६९) इत्यतो जायते। कूणयति इति कूण सङ्कोचने (चुरा. १६८९) इत्यस्य रूपम्। मुकुलीभवतीति मुकुलशब्दात् च्व्यन्ताद् भवतेरनुप्रयोगः।

क्षयावस्थासूचिकायां जरायां गम्यमानायमेते सप्त प्राचुर्येण प्रयुज्यन्ते - जीर्यति झीर्यति जूर्यते जृणाति जिनाति जरति जारयति। एतेषु सप्तसु आद्यास्त्रयो दिवादयः। ततो द्वौ क्र्यादी। अन्त्यौ चुरादी। विस्रसा जरेत्यमरः। जीर्यति इति जॄष् वयोहानौ (दिवा. ११३१) इत्यतो जायते। झीर्यति इति झॄष् वयोहानौ (दिवा. ११३२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। जूर्यते इति जूरि हिंसावयोहान्योः (दिवा. ११५७) इत्यस्य रूपम्। जृणाति इति जॄ वयोहानौ (क्र्या. १४९५) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। जिनाति इति ज्या वयोहानौ (क्र्या. १५००) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधि' (पा. सू. ६.१.१६) इत्यादिना सम्प्रसारणम्। जरति इति जॄ वयोहानौ (चुरा. १८१५) इत्यतो जायते। 'आधृषाद्वा' (गणसूत्रम्) इति धृषधातुमभिव्याप्य विभाषितणिचो धातवः पठिताः। तत्रायं जरतिः। तेन णिजभावे जरति। णिचि जारयति इत्यग्रे वक्ष्यते। जारयति इति जॄ वयोहानौ (चुरा. १८१५) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। 'आधृषाद्वा'(गणसूत्रम्) इति धृषधातुमभिव्याप्य विभाषितणिचो धातवः पठिताः। तत्रायं जरतिः। तेन णिजभावे जरति इत्युपरिष्टादुदाहृतम्। प्रकृते णिचि जारयति।

विशरणसामान्ये एते नव प्रचुरं प्रयुज्यन्ते - द्राडते ध्राडते स्फोटति पूयते दलति फलति सीदति शीयते विशीर्यते अन्त्यवर्जं सर्वे भ्वादयः। द्राडते इति द्राडृ विशरणे (भ्वा. २८७) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। ध्राडत इत्येतत् ध्राडृ विशरणे (भ्वा. २८८) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। शटतीति शटरुजाविशरणगत्यवसादनेषु (भ्वा. २९९) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। स्फोटति इति स्फुटिर् विशरणे (भ्वा. ३२९) इत्यस्य रूपम्। पूयत इति पूयी विशरणे दुर्गन्धे च (भ्वा. ४८४) इत्यस्य रूपम्। दलति इति दल विशरणे (भ्वा. ५४८) इत्यतो जायते। फलति इति ञिफला विशरणे (भ्वा. ५१६) इत्यस्माज्जायते। वीरोदात्तगुणोत्तरो रघुपतिः काव्यार्थबीजं मुनिर्वाल्मीकिः फलति स्म यस्य चरितस्तोत्राय दिव्या गिर (अनर्घ.१.८) इति मुरारिप्रयोगे तु फलतीत्यस्याविर्भवतीत्यर्थः। इह तावदङ्कुरोद्गमपूर्वभावि फलविरणं गम्यते। सीदति इति षद्लृ विशरणगत्यवसादनेषु (भ्वा. ८५५) इत्यस्य रूपम्। शीयते इत्येष शदलृ शातने (भ्वा. ८५६) इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण् (पा. सू. ७.३.७८) इत्यादिना शीयादेशः। 'शदेः शितः' (पा.सू.

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१.३.६०) इत्यात्मनेपदम्। विशीर्णतायामयमिति कौमुद्याम्। विशीर्यते इत्येतद् विपूर्वस्य शॄ हिंसायाम् (क्र्या. १४८९) इत्यस्य कर्मणि रूपम्।

अल्पत्वसामान्ये एतेऽष्टौ प्रचुरं प्रयुक्ता अवलोक्यन्ते - कुञ्चति क्रुञ्चति चुण्डते ह्रसति लिश्यते कृश्यति पुट्टयति चुट्टयति। आद्याश्चत्वारो भ्वादयः। उपान्त्यौ दिवादी। अन्त्यौ चुरादी। कुञ्चतीति कुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पीभावयोः (भ्वा. १८५) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। क्रुञ्चतीति क्रुञ्च कौटिल्यापीभावयोः (भ्वा. १८६) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। चुण्डते इति चुडि अल्पीभावे (भ्वा. ३२५) इत्यस्य रूपम्। ह्रसति इति ह्रस शब्दे (भ्वा. ७११) इत्यस्माज्जायते। लिश्यते इति लिश अल्पीभावे (दिवा. ११८०) इत्यतो जायते। कृश्यति इति कृश तनूकरणे (दिवा. १२२८) इत्यतो निष्पद्यते। पुट्टयतिति पुट्ट अल्पीभावे (चुरा. १५६०) इत्यस्य रूपम्। चुट्टयतीति चुट्ट अल्पीभावे (चुरा. १५६१) इत्यस्य रूपम्।

दरिद्रत्वसामान्ये प्रचुरं प्रयुक्ता इमे अवलोक्यन्ते - दरिद्राति। व्यृध्यति। व्यृध्नोति। क्रमादेते अदादौ दिवादौ स्वादौ च भवन्ति। दरिद्राति इति दरिद्रा दुर्गतौ (अदा. १०७४) इति धातुः व्यृध्यति इति विपूर्वः ऋतु वृद्धौ (दिवा. १२७२) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। विगता ऋद्धिः व्यृद्धिः। 'इको यणचि' (पा. सू. ६.१.७७) इति यणादेशः। दारिद्र्यमर्थः। व्यृध्नोति इति विपूर्वः ऋधु वृद्धौ (स्वा. १२४७) इति धातुः।

अपक्षयसामान्ये प्रचुरं प्रयुक्ता दृश्यन्ते इमे सप्त - अपक्षयति क्षायति जायति सायति दीयते तस्यति दस्यति। आद्याश्चत्वारो भ्वादौ। ततस्त्रयो दिवादौ। अपक्षयति इति अपपूर्वस्य क्षि क्षये (भ्वा. २३६) इत्यस्य धातो रूपम्। क्षायति इति क्षै क्षये (भ्वा. ९१४) इत्यतो जायते। जायति इति जै क्षये (भ्वा. ९१५)। इत्यस्मान्निष्पद्यते। सायतीति षै क्षये (भ्वा. ९१६) इत्यतो निष्पन्नम्। 'धात्वादेः षः सः' (पा.सू. ६.१.६४) इति सत्वम्। दीयते इति दीङ् क्षये (दिवा. ११३५) इत्यस्माज्जायते। तस्यति इति तसु उपक्षये (दिवा. १२१३) इत्यतो भवति। दस्यति इति दसु च उपक्षये (दिवा. १२१४) इत्यस्माद्धातो जायते।

६. नाशः। उपरमति उद्वाति उद्वायति आरमति अप्येति म्रियते निर्वाति निर्वायति रिष्यति विलीयते विनश्यति विपद्यते विध्यायति विरमति जम्भयति नक्कयति प्रलीयते प्रमीयते प्रैति प्रध्वंसते पंसयंति पण्डयति परैति पर्यवस्यति धक्कयति धरते सन्तिष्ठते समाप्नोति शाम्यति। इत्येते नाशबोधकाः पर्यायेण प्रयुज्यन्ते।

विनाशं वर्णयति - विनश्यतीत्यपरभावस्यादिमाचष्टे न पूर्वभावमाचष्टे न प्रतिषेधतीति निरुक्ते। विनाश एवात्रापरभावस्तस्यादिमुपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तमाचष्टे विनश्यतीति। तस्याञ्चावस्थायां विद्यमानमपि पूर्वभावमपक्षीयतेरर्थं नाचष्टे न प्रतिषेधतीति सर्वं निरवद्यमिति दुर्गाचार्यः।

विनाशो बहुमुखः। क्वचिदभिव्यक्तपदार्थानामदर्शनरूपः। क्वचिच्च तदवस्थापगमरूपः। क्वचिज्जीवतां मृत्युरूपः। क्वचिच्च ज्वलतां दीप्तिनिर्वपचनरूपः।

विनाशसामान्ये प्रचुरं प्रयुक्ता इमे त्रयोदश - प्रध्वंसते धरते अप्येति विलीयते प्रलीयते विनश्यति रिष्यति विपद्यते जम्भयति नक्कयति धक्कयति पण्डयति पंसयति। विनाशः

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स्याददर्शनमित्यमरः। आद्यौ भ्वादी। द्वितीयोऽदादिः। ततः पञ्च दैवादिकाः। तत आन्तं चौरादिकाः। प्रध्वंसत इत्यत्र प्रपूर्वः ध्वंसु अवस्रंसने गतौ च (भ्वा. ७५५) इति धातुः। धरते इत्यत्र धृङ् अवध्वंसने (भ्वा. ९६१) इत्ययं धातुः। अप्येति इति अपिपूर्वात् इण् गतौ (अदा. १०४६) इत्यस्माज्जायते। विलीयत तथा प्रलीयते इत्यत्र विपूर्वः तथा प्रपूर्वकश्च लीङ् श्लेषणे (दिवा. ११४०) इति धातुः। विश्यति इति विपूर्वात् णश अदर्शने (दिवा. ११९५) इत्यस्माज्जातः। रिष्यति इति रिष हिंसायाम्। (दिवा. १२३२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। विपद्यत इत्येतत् विपूर्वात् पद गतौ (दिवा. ११७०) इत्यस्माज्जायते। 'ममैव शोकेन विदीर्णवक्षसा त्वया विचित्राङ्गि विपद्यते यदी'ति श्रीहर्षः (नैष १.१४०)। जम्भयति इत्यत्र जभि नाशने (चुरा. १७१७) इत्ययं धातुः। नक्कयति इत्येदद्रूपं नक्क नाशने (चुरा. १५९४) इत्यतो निष्पन्नः। धक्क्यति इति धक्क नाशने (चुरा. १५९५) इत्यस्माज्जायते। पण्डयति इति पडि नाशने (चुरा. १६१६) इत्यस्य रूपम्। पंसयति इत्येतत्पसि नाशने (चुरा. १६१७) इत्यस्माज्जायते।

मरणवाचकाः इमे दश प्रयुज्यन्ते – विरमति आरमति उपरमति सन्तिष्ठते परैति प्रैतिं प्रमीयते पर्यवस्यति समाप्नोति म्रियते स्यात्पञ्चता कालधर्मो दिष्टान्तः प्रलयोऽत्ययः। अन्तो नाशो द्वयोर्मृत्युर्मरणं निधनोऽस्त्रियामित्यमरः। आद्याश्चत्वारो भ्वादयः। ततो द्वावदादी। ततश्च द्वौ दिवादी। उपान्त्यः स्वादी। अन्त्यश्च तुदादिः।

विरमति आरमति उपरमति इत्येते यथाक्रमं वि आङ् तथा उपपूर्वकात् रमु क्रीडायाम् (भ्वा. ८५४) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नाः। उभयत्रापि 'व्याङ्परिभ्यो रमः' (पा. सू. १.३.८३) इति परस्मैपदम्। विरमति महाकल्पे नाभीपथैकनिकेतनस्त्रिभुवनपुरः शिल्पी यस्य प्रतिक्षणमात्मभूरिति मुररिः (अनर्घ १.२)। उपरमति इत्यत्र 'उपाच्च' (पा.सू. १.३.८४) इति परस्मैपदम्। संन्तिष्ठते इत्येतत् सम्पूर्वात् ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ (भ्वा. ९२९) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नः। 'समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः' (पा.सू. १.३.२२) इत्यात्मनेपदम्। परैति प्रैति इत्येतौ परा तथा प्रपूर्वकाच्च इण् गतौ (अदा. १०४६) इत्यस्मान्निष्पन्नौ। तदद्य ते वन्यफलाशिनः परं परैति कार्श्यं यशसा समं वपुरिति भारविः (किरा. १.३९)। प्रमीयते इत्यत्र प्रपूर्वो मीङ् हिंसायाम् (दिवा. ११३८) इति धातुः। अत्र हिंसाशब्देन हिंसाफलं प्राणविश्लेषोऽभिधीयते इति धातुवृत्तौ। हिंसात्र प्राणवियोगः इति कौमुदी। पर्यवस्यति इत्यत्र परि अव इत्युपसर्गद्वयपूर्वः षोऽन्तकर्णि (दिव. ११४८)। समाप्नोति इति सम्पूर्वः आप्लृ व्याप्तौ (स्वा. १२६१)। म्रियते इति मृङ् प्राणत्यागो (तुदा. १४०४)। 'म्रियते म्रियमाणे या त्वयि जीवति जीवती'ति हर्षदेवः (नागा.४.१७)।

तेजसो विरतौ इमे षट् प्रयुज्यन्ते - विध्यायति निर्वायति उद्वायति उद्वाति निर्वाति शाम्यति। आद्यास्त्रयो भ्वादौ। उपान्त्यावदादौ। अन्त्यो दिवादिः। विध्यायति इति विपूर्वस्य ध्यै चिन्तायाम् (भ्वा. ९०९) इत्यस्य रूपम्। निर्वायति तथा उद्वायति इत्यत्र यथाक्रमं निर् उत् इत्युपसर्गपूर्वः ओवै शोषणे (भ्वा. ९२२) इति धातुः। उद्वाति तथा निर्वाति इत्यत्र यथाक्रमं उत् निर् पूर्वः वा गतिगन्धनयोः (अदा. १०५१) इति धातुः। शाम्यति इति शमु उपशमे (दिवा. १२०२) इत्यस्य रूपम्। 'शमामष्टानां दीर्घः श्यनि' (पा. सू.७.३.७४) इति दीर्घः।

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व्याकरणशास्त्रे भावशब्दस्य धात्वर्थेऽर्थः। तदपीह युक्तमाख्यातुम्। धातुना योऽर्थोऽभिधीयते स एव भावः। तदुक्तं स्वपदार्थे भवनं भाव इति। प्रबन्धे चास्मिन् यत्किञ्चिदुपष्टम्भकमादाय य एते धातवोऽस्मिन्नर्थे प्रयुज्यन्ते इति वक्तुं सुशकास्ते परामृष्टाः। यदतोऽन्ये धातुपाठेऽन्यत्र वा एतमेवार्थमुपस्थापयन्तोऽत्र योजयितुमुचिताः।

सन्दर्भग्रन्थाः

१. अनर्घराघवम्।
२. किरातार्जुनीयम्।
३. कुमारसम्भवम्।
४. कृष्णकर्णामृतम्।
५. नागानन्दम्।
६. नैषधीयचरितम्।
७. बुद्धचरितम्।
८ भट्टिकाव्यम्।
९. माधवीयधातुवृत्तिः।
१०. मेघदूतम्।
११. पातञ्जलयोगसूत्रम्।
१२. रघुवंशः।
१३. रामायणम्।
१४. राघवनैषधीयम्।
१५. वाक्यपदीयब्रह्मकाण्डम्।
१६. वाक्यपदीयसाधनसमुद्देशः।
१७. विवेकचूडामणिः।
१८. शाकुन्तलम्।
१९. शिशुपालवधम्।
२०. साङ्ख्यकारिका।
२१. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी सव्याख्या सपरिशिष्टा।

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अहंप्रत्ययविचारस्य मनोवैज्ञानिकं साङ्गत्यम्।

हरिकृष्णशर्मा

स्वत्वं इति तत्त्वमाधारीकृत्य कृतः कोऽहमिति प्रश्नः एव सर्वेषामपि दर्शनानां, तत्त्वचिन्ताशाखानां, मनोविज्ञानस्य चाधारभूतः। भारतेषु सिद्धप्रचाराणां वैदिकानामवैदिकानाञ्च दर्शनानां, ग्रीस् प्रभृतिषु देशेषु प्रचलितानां मेटाफिसिक्स् प्रभृतीनां च चालकः अयमेवासीत्। अस्मात्प्रश्नात्समुद्भूतं स्वत्त्वान्वेषणं काल्पनिकानां भावनाप्रधानानाञ्च सृष्टीनां, ततस्समुत्पन्नानां स्थूलपदार्थानाञ्च हेतुत्वं भजते। मानवैरन्विष्यमाणस्यास्य स्वत्वस्य दौर्लभ्यं सृष्टेरनुस्यूततायाः निदानं वर्तते। तथापि अन्वेष्टरि स्वत्वानि भूयांस्युपलभ्यन्ते च। तादृशेषूपलब्धेषु केषुचिदपि स्वत्वेषु तेनान्विष्यमाणस्य स्वत्वस्य सफलता सम्पूर्णता वा न दृश्यते। मानवे सम्भूयमानं समस्तमपि स्वत्वजालं तस्मात् भिन्नदेशकालवस्त्वाद्याश्रितं वर्तते। ते देशकालवस्तवः यावदवतिष्ठन्ते तावदेव तत्तत्स्वत्वानामप्यवस्थितिः। सामान्यः कश्चिन्मानवः आत्मनो जीवितयापनस्य सुगमतायै व्यभिचारशीलेषु स्वत्वेष्वेतेषु कस्मैश्चित्, अथवा त्रयाणां चतुर्णां वा संघाताय वा आत्मत्वं प्रयच्छति। तानि माता, पिता, पुत्रः, पुत्री, नेता, राजा, भृत्यः वैद्यः, यन्त्रज्ञः, पुरोहितः इत्यारभ्यानन्तानि। एतादृशैर्विशिष्टैस्स्वत्वैस्सह संयोगवियोगावेव जीवितस्य सामाजिकं वैयक्तिकं वा प्रमाणमिति गण्येते।

स्वत्वव्यतिकरः/स्वत्वसङ्घर्षः (Identity Crisis)

मानवसाधारणं स्वत्वं मनुष्यत्वमिति धार्मिकानि सामाजिकानि च दर्शनानि उद्घुष्यन्ते। किन्तु धर्माणां दर्शनानाञ्च मिथः क्वचित् संपद्यमानान्यस्वारस्यानि स्वत्वान्वेषणे मनुष्यत्वातिवर्तित्वस्य निदर्शनानि भवन्ति। स्वत्वबहुत्वादस्मात् नित्यत्वसम्पूर्णत्वयुक्तायाश्शान्तेरलाभात् स्वत्वानां मिथः काचन स्पर्धा सञ्जायते। स्पर्धेयं द्विविधं दोषमुत्पादयति। प्रथमतः यत्स्वत्वमाधारीकृत्येयं स्पर्धा सञ्जाता तन्नात्मनः यथार्थं स्वत्वं; तथा च आत्मनः आत्यन्तिकं परमञ्च स्वत्वमन्यत्किञ्चनास्मादिति प्रत्यभिज्ञायाः अवकाशः स्पर्धयाऽनया निरुध्यते। अनन्तरतस्तु - स्पर्धायाः आधारीभूतस्य तस्य स्वत्वस्य विभूतिजालं आत्मत्वेनैवाङ्गीक्रियते। अविद्यायाः आवरणविक्षेपरूपशक्तिद्वयवद्दोषद्वययुक्तेयं स्पर्धा प्रारंभे आत्मपीडाकारिणी ततः परपीडाकारिणी च जायते। यौवनारम्भादेवेयं स्पर्धाप्यारभत इति मनोवैज्ञानिकं मतम्। एरिक् एरिक्सण् (Erik Erikson) प्रभृतयो मनोवैज्ञानिकाः स्वत्वव्यतिकराभिधेयां समस्यामिमां विशदीकृतवन्तः। आत्यन्तिकस्य दृढस्य च कस्यचित् स्वत्वस्य सम्पादनेऽभिभवात् स्वत्वव्यतिकरसमस्या संभवति। अशान्ताः विप्लवाः इत एवोत्पन्नाः। सामूहिकैः प्राकृतिकैश्च प्रेरणाविशेषैः सञ्चितेन केनापि स्वत्वेन तद्वतः स्वत्वान्वेषणत्वरा, तद्वति रूढमूलं स्वत्वान्तरं वा नानुरमेते चेत् समस्येयमापद्यते। सा बहुभिः प्रकारैः अनुभूतितलमाविशति च। केचनात्माहुतिमाचरन्ति, केचन क्रान्तिकारिणो भवन्ति, अन्ये काषायं धरन्ति, परे पातकिनो जायन्ते,

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अपरे तु समाजसेवायै निवर्तन्ते च। एतेभ्योऽपि व्यतिरिक्तास्तु निषेधात्मिकां प्रकृतिं प्रकटयन्ति। स्वत्वव्यतिकरसम्मर्देऽपि स्वत्वान्तरस्वीकाराय बिभीयमानैः मार्गान्तराणि मृग्यन्ते। अस्य दृष्टान्तः विश्वजालपुटेषु द्रष्टुं शक्यते। फेय्स बुक्, ओरकुट्, गूगिल्बस् - प्लस्, ट्विट्टर्, कूट्टम् इत्यादिषु सौहार्दपरेषु सामूह्याशयविनिमयजालपुटेषु संवादशीलानां भूरीणामपि नामानि चमत्कृतानि कृत्रिमानि वा भवन्ति। भ्रान्तः, निषेधी, चात्तन्, पिशाचः, यमः, प्रकृतिः इत्यादीनि नामानि तन्निदर्शनानि। प्रयोक्तॄणामाशयानां मनसश्च निर्बाधप्रकाशनाय तैरेव स्वीकृतानि स्वत्वान्यैवैतानि। अथवा एतेषु स्वत्वेष्वेव ते स्वेच्छाचारिणो जायन्त इति स्पष्टम्। सेयमवस्था क्रमशः जालपुटाद्बहिः भौतिकलोके तैरुपास्यमानेषु स्वत्वेषु अस्वारस्यानां, ततश्च सामूह्यजीविते अनाशास्यानां प्रवृत्तीनाञ्च जनयित्री भविष्यति। ओक्स्फोर्ड् सर्वकलाशालायाः औषधविज्ञानकेन्द्रीयया बारोण्स् ग्रीन्फील्ड् (Baroness Greenfield) इति अध्यापिकया सौहृदपरेषु सामूह्याशयविनिमयजालपुटेषु फेय्स्बुक् प्रभृतिषु विहरतां यूनां स्वत्वव्यतिकरसमस्याः अधीताः वर्तन्ते।[६]

स्वत्वव्यतिकरे अद्वैतमौषधम्।

बाह्यवस्तुप्रभावाद्धि स्वत्वबहुत्वसिद्धिरित्युक्तम्। बहुत्वविशिष्टं स्वत्वमयथार्थमित्यप्यवगतम्। आत्यन्तिकं, सत्यं, निर्बाधञ्च स्वत्वं एकमेव स्यात्। तदेव स्वत्वमद्वैतिभिरप्युपास्यते। 'प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्मे'त्यारभ्य 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मी'ति साक्षात्कारकोटिमवाप्यमानं महावाक्यचतुष्टयं परमस्वत्वसाक्षात्कारस्वरूपम्। अहंप्रत्ययः एवेहोपादानभूतः। 'नेति नेती'ति 'न प्रज्ञं नाप्रज्ञ'मिति च निषेधोपस्कारेभ्यः स्वत्वबहुत्वमेकैकमद्वैतिभिर्निरस्यते। तथा बाह्यविषयेष्वेकैकेषु निरस्तेषु केवलोऽहंप्रत्यय एवं स्फुरति। विज्ञैरहंप्रत्ययः 'चिदचित्सन्धि'रिति विशिष्यते। चितोऽचितश्च सन्ध्यस्वरूपत्वात् स च न परमस्वत्वस्वरूपमित्यद्वैतिनः। मनुष्योऽहमिति प्रत्ययात्सूक्ष्मशरीरगतोऽहमिति प्रत्ययावाप्तावेव चिदचितसन्धेरहंप्रत्ययस्य केवलस्य स्फुरणम्। तस्मादचिदंशस्य निवृत्तेरहंप्रत्ययस्यापि निवृत्तिः। शिष्टमनुभूतिस्वरूपमेवाद्वैतिनां परमं स्वत्वम्। विपश्चितः व्यावहारिकदशायां अहंप्रत्यय एव शिष्यते चेत्, बाह्यलोकेन तस्य वैषयिको ममताद्याधारितश्च बन्धः प्रायेणास्तङ्गत इतीर्यते। तत्र निवृत्तभ्रमस्य परमस्य च स्वत्वस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञा सञ्जायते। तथा सति स्वत्वान्तराण्यस्तं यान्ति। एवं परमस्वत्वे रूढमूलाः स्वत्वव्यतिकरशून्याः यदृच्छालाभसन्तुष्टाः स्पर्धाविहीनाः सङ्घर्षरहिताश्च सन्तो नराः सुसङ्गतेषु अरुग्णेषु च भौतिकव्यापारेषु तन्निर्लिप्ततया निरताः भवन्ति। सेयं महती प्रत्यभिज्ञैव दशश्लोक्यां "न भूमिर्न तोयं न तेजो......"[२] इत्यारभ्य व्यवहृता।

अहंप्रत्ययाधारिता चित् कथं स्वत्वबहुत्वहेतुभूतेति मधुसूदनसरस्वत्या सिद्धान्तबिन्दौ परामृश्यते। "कर्तृभागावच्छिन्नः चिदंशः प्रमाता, क्रियाभागावच्छिन्नश्चिदंशः प्रमाणं, विषयगतोऽभिव्यक्तियोग्यभागावच्छिन्नचिदंशः प्रमितिः" इति त्रिधा स्वत्वस्य बहुत्वापत्तिः। त्रिपुटीलये एव परमतत्त्वं विज्ञायत इति वेदान्तिनः। स्वत्वव्यतिकरजनकश्चायमेव त्रिपुटिः। त्रिपुटीप्रभावादेव पराङ्मुखाः स्वत्वान्तरेष्वभिरताः अतृप्ताश्च सन्तः भ्रमन्ति। अतिह्रस्वेनायुषा दृश्यप्रपञ्चस्य समग्रमपि विशेषमवगन्तुं न शक्यते। अतः एव स्वत्वेष्वस्थिरता जायते। स्वत्वान्वेषणभीरवः कस्मिंश्चिदेकस्मिन्

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स्वत्वे आत्मानमावृण्वन्ति। आवृत्तचक्षवः प्राप्तविद्याश्च निवृत्तभ्रमाः भवन्ति, आन्तरज्ञानस्य परमस्वत्वत्वात्। तदवाप्तौ बाह्यविषयगतातृप्तिहेतू नश्वरता अपूर्णता चाभिज्ञायेते। सर्वात्मभावापत्या समस्तस्वत्वानामप्यात्मन्येव निलयोऽप्यवगम्यते। स्वत्वव्यतिकरं अपनेतुं अर्वाचीनमनोवैज्ञानिकैः कृत्रिमनिद्राप्रभृतयः (Hypnotism) आश्रियन्ते। तेष्वपि स्वत्वान्तरबाधकाः निर्देशाः एवं दीयन्ते। स्वत्वव्यतिकराय अद्वैतवेदान्तिभिर्निर्दिष्टा चिकित्सा शमदमोपरतितितिक्षासमाधानश्रद्धाः, श्रवणमनननिदिध्यासनानि च भवन्ति। स्वत्वविभुत्वं (Identity diffusion) इति अवाप्यपदावाप्तये मानवं नेतुं नान्यः पन्था विद्यते।

ग्रन्थसूची

१. दशोपनिषदः। मोतिलाल बनारसीदास। दिल्ली। २०००

२. सिद्धान्तबिन्दुः। मधुसूदनसरस्वती। चौखम्बा संस्कृत ग्रन्थावली। १९९६

३. सिद्धान्तलेशसङ्ग्रहः। अप्पय्यदीक्षितः। एच्. डी. गुप्ता आन्ड् सन्स, बनारस। १९१६

४. पञ्चदशी। विद्यारण्यस्वामिनः। चौखम्बा संस्कृत ग्रन्थावली। २००२

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Text, Adaptation and Translation

K. Muthulekshmi

The concept of text and textual understanding inherent in Sanskrit traditions of knowledge systems is neither simple nor homogenous. On the contrary, in different traditional knowledge systems, the text and its counterpart, the understanding of a text, were conceived as a complex and heterogeneous structure. The formation, expression, and communication of ideas that evolved in and through these systems were closely related to the concepts of construction and understanding of texts. In fact, the concepts, the text and the understanding of a text, were inseparable; they evolved and were embedded in the process of the formation of theory.

The very fact that the idea of the text itself was given great importance throughout Sanskrit tradition makes it a very complex concept. The generation of new ideas, the refutation of contending ideas, as well as different renewed readings of one and the same text over time, were all processes that had their own space within it, and in specific ways, contributed to and constituted the traditional intellectual world. Obviously, this is a stimulating area of study that demands subtle and analytical approach to the subject.

The theories about conceptualizing and understanding the text were part of different knowledge systems. Each system developed its own textual and interpretative methods in accordance with the specificity of each śāstra. In ancient texts, at the outset itself, many such methodological specifications were mentioned in order to have a clear approach to the subject matter. Many of the texts were interpreted and re-interpreted through several centuries. These interpretations served different functions: that of re-reading and renewing the text and thus constantly revising and enabling it to engage with the contemporary world. With the rise of regional languages in the modern period adaptations and

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translations into regional languages more or less served the function that interpretations did in earlier times. This paper attempts to view the textual forms of adaptation and translation from the background of traditional theories of text and textual understanding.

Text: A Background

Many of the Sanskrit texts of the ancient period opened by specifying the anubandhacatuṣṭayaṃ or four anubandhas, which can be considered as kind of a preface/ foreword/ introduction to the text. If at all this part of a text has been omitted in the original, it is bound to attract attention in its interpretation. The primary function of the four anubandhas, adhikāri, viṣaya, saṃbandha, and prayojana, is to place the text against the broad background of different texts, or laying out the textual field within which this particular text intends to operate in or engage with. Adhikāri is the addressee to whom the text is addressed. For example, in the first verse of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, the adhikāri of the Āyurvedaśāstra is specified to be one who is desirous of āyus or longevity.

āyuḥ kāmayamānena dharmārthasukhasādhanaṃ,
āyurvedopadeśeṣu vidheyaḥ paramādaraḥ.

(Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam,* 1.2.)

Viṣaya is the essence of the subject matter dealt with. The nature of the relation between the viṣaya and the text, or the relation between the author of the text and the reader is saṃbandha. This in turn determines the relation between the reader and the text. A text includes within itself different responses from the reader. Saṃbandha gains its relevance in this continuity between the text and the responses to it. The last anubandha, prayojana, is the effect that the text is supposed to have on the reader. Thus the statement of anubandhacatuṣṭaya fixes the specific field within which a text operates.

This leads to an interesting counterpoint. Is the text therefore confined to a limited space? Does anubandhacatuṣṭaya narrow the scope of a text? While Trying to find an answer to this doubt, one is led to another point regarding the formation of the text. The transformations in the anubandhacatuṣṭaya through various means may lead to the

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transformations in the text itself. A new adhikari, saṃbandha, and prayojana may renew the viṣaya itself. While discussing the continuity between the śāstra-s of Pūrvamīmāṃsa and Uttaramīmāṃsā, Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, maintains that Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Uttaramīmāṃsa are different śāstra-s, because they have different adhikāri-s, viṣayas and effects. (Śaṅkara, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 1.1.1.) Thus here, anubandhacatuṣṭaya acts as a factor that determines the identity of a śāstra. Through centuries, commentators have defined and redefined different aspects of the anubandhacatuṣṭaya itself. At first glance these discussions may appear trivial. However, when ideas about text and textual formation are analysed in broad contexts, these discussions assume relevance.

When a text is translated from one language to another, each element of anubandha becomes subject to change. With the translation of Sanskrit texts into foreign and regional languages during the 18th and 19th centuries, there occurred a great cultural break. Even in the 16th century, our thinkers had foreseen such breaks based on linguistic change and articulated several responses toward them. Appayyadikshita, in his 16th century Advaitic work, *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha*, discusses this doubt as a pūrvapakṣa: Does one have the right to gain self-knowledge from texts written in regional languages (*Bhāṣāprabandha*) or from original texts themselves (śruti-s written in Sanskrit)? (Appayyadīkṣita, *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha*, pariccheda 1, Vidhivicāra.) The inclusion of such a pūrvapakṣa and a discussion on it point to the change in anubandhacatuṣṭaya leading to changes in the text itself and the cultural breaks it may thus effect. About two centuries after Appayyadīkṣita, through Narayanaguru's expressions of Advaita philosophy in Malayalam language, Advaita itself set foot into a whole new arena of ideological engagement. This phenomenon can be read well through the lens of anubandhacatuṣṭaya. A Kerala model of such cultural break and tension caused by linguistic transformations, and changes in anubandhacatuṣṭaya can be seen in the bhakti and vibhakti legend also. It narrates a polemical argument between Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri and Pūntānam, which is believed to have taken

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place in the 16th century. In this legend, bhakti stands for Malayalam language and vibhakti for Sanskrit. Bhakti represents humility, inclusiveness and passion here. And vibhakti represents pride, exclusiveness and scholarship. In this context, the interference of God himself (the Lord of Guruvayur), by saying I prefer Bhakti of Pūntānam to the vibhakti of Melputtūr is indicative of the high social force that was gaining momentum at that period of time.

Adaptation and Translation

An adaptation or punarākhyāna can be in the same language or in a different one. Many of the ancient traditional texts or interpretations of the texts that we read today are adaptations of older texts. Most of our commentaries are adaptations or re-readings of original texts. There is a linear link between interpretation, adaptation, and translation. Our interpretative strategies, of course, took into account different aspects of textual understanding. As Caraka points out in *Carakasaṃhitā*, a text should be commented upon considering the context, its place and time, the intention of the author, and the methodology followed by the text.

ataśca prakṛtaṃ buddhvā Deśakālāntarāṇi ca
granthakarturabhiprāyānupāyāmścarthamādiśet.

(*Carakasamhitā*, *Sūtrasthānam*, 26.37.)

One of the recent adaptations of ancient Sanskrit texts written in contemporary times is the English version of āyurvedic texts like *Carakasaṃhitā* by Caraka, (2nd century BC), *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (pre-Buddhist) by Suśruta and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (5th century AD) by Vāgbhaṭa, all of which were adapted by Dr. M. S. Valiathan. It is evident that these English adaptations address a different category of readers from that of the Sanskrit texts. These works, written in English, address a universal reader, thus generating responses and effects at a global plane.

The strategies which are used in processes of adaptation vary from subject to subject and author to author. The adaptation strategies that are employed by Dr. M. S. Valiathan in his writings are suited to the purpose of addressing the modern reader.

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Saṅgati

One of the main adaptation strategies is on saṅgati which occupies a prime place in Sanskrit textual theory. It is one of the five factors of adhikaraṇa, the others being viṣaya, samśaya, pūrvapakṣa and siddhānta.

Different adhikaraṇas constitute a text and each adhikaraṇa in a text forms a self-contained unit. Taken as an interconnected whole, they constitute a full text as well. The saṅgati is the factor which acts as the link between the different adhikaraṇas. All adhikaraṇas are linked to one another on the basis of clear sangati. In another sense, sangati is the thematic order of a text. Ancient thinkers were preoccupied with the factor of saṅgati in the text. For example, the commentaries of the *Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣya* never fail to point out the saṅgati of each adhikaraṇa. Vāgbhaṭa, who wrote *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* summarizing his earlier work *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*, reminds the reader about the significance of the change he has made in the order of topics in his writing thus: The very same ideas, the very same structure, but the purpose of adopting a different order is to summarise the theme.

> *tīrthāḥ sa grandhābandhaśca*
> *saṃkṣepāya kramo'nyathā.*
> (Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha, Sūtrasthānam*,1.9.)

Here, the purpose of changing the order of topics is only to summarize. But in many other instances, its effect can be more complicated.

There are about 4000 sūtras in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. The order Pāṇini has followed in narrating them is not based upon usage or derivation of terms. He has narrated the sūtras with a holistic vision of Vyākaraṇaśāstra, in a technical style of his own. However, later in the 16th century, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*, has adopted an order of derivation and usage of terms for narrating the sūtras. Thus the holistic and integral vision that is evident in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives way to an approach that foregrounds the application rather than theory in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

Similarly, in the adaptations of *Carakasaṃhitā* (The Legacy of Caraka) and *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (The Legacy of Suśruta) by Dr. M. S. Valiathan, a

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contemporary version of this process can be seen. In the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhita*, the general order of topics is on the following lines:

- Sūtrasthāna - Fundamental Principles
- Śarīrasthāna - Anatomy
- Nidānasthāna - Pathology
- Cikitsāsthāna - Stages of diseases, procedures of treatment
- Kalpasthāna - Preparation, preservation, and conservation of medicines
- Uttarasthāna - Aspects of treatment other than kāyacikitsā
- Vimānasthāna - The attainment of the goal of the treatment

Such an ordering of topics may confuse a modern reader about the content of the text. To know about one disease and its treatment, the reader will have to go through the entire text. The characteristics, cause, treatment, and medicine of one disease itself, are spread across the body of the entire text. Why is this order followed in these texts? The basis of such a division of topics in *Carakasaṃhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is a holistic vision of health, which does not give prime importance to disease or its treatment.

However, the approach of modern science is to view health on the basis of particular disease, its causes and treatment. For that very reason, in order to address the adhikāri of contemporary times, Dr. Valiathan has, after the elaboration of fundamental principles, described in a single chapter, each disease along with its characteristics, cause, and stages, adding illustrative tables.

The Malayalam translations of these English adaptations address another set of readers, and generate a different set of responses from readers. Thus the global level responses and discussions addressed and generated by the English adaptations of these ancient Sanskrit texts are complemented by the local level responses through Malayalam translations:

- *Carakasaṃhitā/Suśrutasaṃhitā* - Sanskrit texts
- Legacy of Caraka/Legacy of Suśruta - English adaptations
- *Carakapaitṛkaṃ/Suśrutapaitṛkaṃ* - Malayalam translations

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Three different languages, three different texts and three different kinds of readings – the footprints of textual evolution are evident in this process.

The text here is conceived as a synergistic effect – the effect of the intentions of the author, the content of the text and the experience of the reader coming together in a particular time, context and space. Sanskrit tradition of intellectual discourse, through the centuries, refined, defined and redefined itself through such a complex textual culture and obviously demands greater attention. There are many philosophical concepts related to textuality in Sanskrit like apauruṣeyatva, āptavākya etc. All these concepts have been interpreted in accordance with the theoretical standpoint of each philosophical system. By viewing the evolution of textual tradition on the basis of interpretation, adaptation and translation, one is exposed to the ways our thinkers made the ancient texts yugānurūpasandarbha (that is, in tune with contemporary times).

In this context, one is reminded of the following verse of Vāgbhaṭa-

svānyatantravirodhānāṃ bhūyiṣṭham vinivārakaḥ
yugānurūpasandarbho vibhāgena kariṣyate

(Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgrahaṃ*, *Sūtrasthānaṃ*, 1.7)

(By trying to solve the contradictions within and outside the śāstra through adopting a particular way of ordering of topics, this śāstra is made 'yugānurūpasandarbha')

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The Concept of Bhakti in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa

Kartik Pandya

Introduction

The Purāṇas are many, but the one that is the most important is the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa.* It is one of the greatest classics in the sacred literature of India and is the chief basis of the philosophical schools of the Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* occupies a very important position in the realm of Indian philosophy, religion and culture. It is a Vaiṣṇavite bhakti classic.[1] It is one of the most popular works of Indian literature. The secret behind the popularity and importance of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* lies in its literary qualities, and the significance it attaches to the method of bhakti as a means of attaining the Supreme Truth. It has placed before human beings a God who is the beautifier of the beauty itself, who is an exemplar of superhuman strength, virtues, magnanimity and kindness; and everything that a human heart wants to see in his deity. Hence it is a great work that attempts to prepare the minds of common people for the ultimate realization of the Supreme through the pathway of devotion and dedication.

To begin with, let me give the derivation of the term 'bhakti', because the root and often the original meaning of a term can be grasped in this manner. The term bhakti comes from the Sanskrit root 'bhaj' meaning 'to serve', which is turned into an abstract noun by the addition of the termination 'ktin' (suffix) (Pāṇini III.3.94).[2] Hence bhakti means service, devotion, attachment, loyalty, worship and homage. The term bhakti implies a sincere service of a god prompted by intense love based on a sense of supreme faith. Unless a person is full of faith and love, and unless this love of the heart oozes out in the form of service of the deity, he cannot be said to be a bhakta or devotee. Therefore bhakti can be defined as a hearty service of the supreme inspired by a profound love and unflinching faith.

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The *Bhāgavata* is believed to be the inspired production (samādhibhāṣā) of Sage Vyāsa, an avatāra of Lord Viṣṇu. It consists of 12 books, 335 cantos, 18,000 verses and 5,76,000 letters. It chiefly treats the following ten topics viz.

1. God (āśrayatatva)
2. Creation (sarga)
3. Recreation (visarga)
4. Divine regulation of the cosmos (sthiti)
5. Divine grace (poṣaṇa)
6. Desires leading to metempsychosis (uti)
7. Manu periods and the divine government (manvantara)
8. Life stories of divine descents and devotees – saints, sages and saviours of mankind (avatāra)
9. The way to god (nirodha)
10. Redemption or beatitude (mukti)

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* has given supreme importance to bhakti. As per the statement of Brahmā, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is the teaching of the supreme Himself. Its object being generating a feeling of bhakti, it contains an account of the super-human powers (vibhūtis) of God.[3] The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* repeatedly tries to persuade readers for cultivating a sense of sincere devotion for God. 'The biggest duty of man is to cultivate bhakti for God – a bhakti which is selfless and devoid of any obstruction,' declares the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.[4]

Therefore, it tries to achieve a transformation of human tendencies through the soft, pleasant and perfumed path of devotion. It may be added that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* has been quite successful in its objective, so much so, that it has wielded more influence than the Upaniṣads, has saved more lives from being lost than any other Hindu scripture, has inspired innumerable lives to make supreme sacrifice, and contribute to the upliftment of humanity[5], and has given a new tone of sublimation to Indian literature.[6]

The essence of devotion is that the tendencies should be merged in the object of our faith and devotion. This thing is very clearly perceptible

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in the Vedas. For example, the *Ṛgveda* states that just as the seven rivers run towards the ocean and become lost therein, the mental tendencies of the devotee run towards the Godhead and are lost in Him.[7] The great Lord is considered the protector, the subject of human knowledge and the eternal father and mother.[8] He is the husband of all.[9] His friendship is sweet and His devotion is the giver of all satisfaction.[10]

According to the *Nāradabhaktisūtra*, the profound and immortal love for God is known as Bhakti.[11] The *Śāṇḍilyabhaktisūtra* states that an intense love for God is known as bhakti.[12] The *Nāradapañcarātra* defines bhakti as serving God with pure mind after banishing all worldly and other desires.[13] Madhusūdana Sarasvati in his *Bhaktirasāyana* says that bhakti is the mental tendency directed towards God, excited by the hearing of God's attributes.[14]

But the real nature of bhakti cannot, perhaps be fully revealed by these forthright descriptions and definitions. Bhakti thus connotes a mental stage where all the mundane objects lose their attraction and a steady and intense love for the supreme is experienced, the goal of that love being God's love itself. There may be a devotee who is not able to reach the highest rung of the ladder. He may pray for material prosperity, freedom from pain etc. But once he continues his march onwards, he is likely to reach the highest point sooner or later, for devotion implies an attitude which values the service of the deity as the supreme passion of the devotee. Once the process starts, the possibility is that it would not stop till it has attained its cherished objective.

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is a treasure of bhakti. The predominant sentiment in the *Bhāgavata* is devotion and hence its main purpose is to show the path to God realization. Thus it has given supreme importance to bhakti. God is the Inner Being of all the embodied selves. He is the Lord of nature. Therefore, if human beings seek His shelter, they shall be quite safe and secured there.[15] Man should not forget that only that birth is real birth, only that activity is real activity whereby Lord Hari is served.[16]

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What should be noted is the fact that water poured on the roots of a tree, will reach every leaf and branch of the tree. In the same way, if we propitiate God, all the gods become pleased.[17] Yamarāja clearly states in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, in the story of Ajāmila that the paramount duty of human beings in this world is to seek bhakti of the Lord through a recital of His names, glories, meditation etc.[18] Prahlāda advises his friends in the same way to cultivate a concentrated and exclusive bhakti for the supreme and see Him everywhere.[19] It is of the firm opinion that the supreme who is beyond being and non-being, and though attributeless, appears to be full of attributes and can be realized only through a feeling of intense devotion.[20] It is stated that having fully practiced meditation, one attains bhaktiyoga in a short time. This indicates that bhakti is not a means to an end but the end in itself.[21] The *Bhāgavata* has chosen to describe the supreme many times but such terms denote that He likes the path of devotion as a means of attaining Truth. For example, the supreme has been described as auspicious for the world,[22] giver of boons to the distressed and poor,[23] granter of welfare, very kind, the support of the world,[24] bliss by nature, one who is realizable through experience alone,[25] the creator of all religions,[26] excessively kind-hearted,[27] the father, the preceptor, and the master of the world,[28] most intimate friend of all,[29] attractor of the God of love,[30] the refuge of the noble,[31] the lover of the lowly,[32] giver of all desires like the Kalpa-tree,[33] beauty, magnificence, strength, knowledge, renown etc.,[34] one who does not know any discrimination,[35] the beauty of the world,[36] one who is devoid of every blemish etc.[37] These adjectives have been used to impress upon the minds of common people the desirability of cultivating a sincere and unflinching devotion for the supreme conceived in the form of Kṛṣṇa.[38] The sole object of knowledge is to realize the truth by the process of eradication of sensual and material elements of the self. Unless mind is freed from the attachments for the mundane things, one cannot hope to find the supreme truth. The path of knowledge is very tough and unattractive. Therefore, the

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Bhāgavtapurāṇa suggests an acceptance of the path of bhakti which charms a human heart, and yet frees him from death.[39]

Bhakti implies an intimate and intense love for God. A devotee fixes his attention on the feet of God alone and spurns everything that comes by way of an obstruction in the path of this love.[40] For him God is the beloved, father, mother, brother everything. Bhakti consists in dedicating all one's acts performed through body, language, mind, intelligence etc. to God with honesty and sincerity.[41]

An instance of such a dedication of actions is provided by the Gopīs. They used to recite the name of Śrīkṛṣṇa with a heart full of love, and eyes full of tears even at the time of milking the cows, threshing rice, churning curds, cleansing house, and performing other daily acts.[42] Bhakti needs a selfless service of God.[43] Bhakti means a firm, stable and unflinching attachment to God. No other desire or aspiration can find a place in the heart of a true devotee. Bhakti is thus a transforming experience. The definition of bhakti as given by the *Śāṇḍilyabhaktisūtra* comes very near the definition of bhakti emanating from the *Bhāgavata*. Śāṇḍilya has defined bhakti as an intense love for God.[44] According to *Bhāgavata*, bhakti is a state of complete dedication of life, mind and everything else out of the innermost attachment developed for God.

The *Bhāgavata* has tried to present a list of those traits which can be termed as the characteristic features of a devotee.[45] This list of the traits of a devotee also suggests that a man of devotion is solely attached to God alone. The *Bhāgavata* has tried to illustrate this point by depicting the lives of Prahlāda and the Gopīs with gusto and brilliance. Prahlāda was so attached to God that he did not care for his father's displeasure, material prosperity, bodily security, and social prestige. The Gopīs were similarly so attached to God that they did not care for the opinions of their society and members of their family.

Bhakti in General

Bhakti tries to give right perspective towards life. The source of individual and social degradation is the selfish attitude of an individual. He becomes irrationally attached to mundane objects. Bhakti tries to

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wean this gross, selfish attachment of an individual towards mundane objects in a very psychological and simple manner. Instead of an attachment for riches, a woman and such other objects, bhakti gives one an attachment for Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or any other deity. The sense of attachment is not destroyed; but it is transformed. We need not destroy the currents of our hearty affection. What is needed is simply a diversion of the current. Then the entire attitude towards life becomes changed. Then the strength does not make us unruly, and power does not corrupt. Then one can cross the frontiers of narrowness of every kind, and every description. Vibhīṣaṇa, the brother of the mighty but unscrupulous king of Laṅkā, braved the anger of his brother and did not hesitate in condemning the wrong act of his brother Rāvaṇa in abducting Sītā. What was the sacrifice he did not make to serve the cause of justice and morality? He could do so because he was a devotee of God. Every devotee is a powerful fighter against the forces of injustice and social degradation.

Many times individual lives are ruined because one loses all hope and confidence. Human life is a pathetic story of knotty problems and baffling worries. Abnormal psychology throws ample light on how emotional instability, personality disorganization and character defects make at least ten percent of the general population wretched and useless.[46] And specially in old age when the lights of the world fail, the life of an individual becomes agony incarnate as is well described by Shakespeare:

"Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything."

Bhakti can be of great utility here. A man of devotion is able to bear all the storms of life with a smiling face. He is confident that he would be helped by his Lord and all the problems and difficulties shall be duly solved.[47] We find that a man of devotion leads a life of supreme dedication and self-abnegation. Even if for a moment we presume that there is no God, or the path of devotion cannot lead to the supreme

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truth, bhakti becomes very desirable because of its highly social value. It does not lack an element of knowledge. A true devotee never forgets that supreme truth is one and non-dual in character.[48]

Types of Bhakti

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentions different types of bhakti at different places. It would be interesting to study these types of bhakti here and try to find out the truth emerging from this study.

1. Three kinds of bhakti: We find three types of bhakti at two places. These three kinds of bhakti are hearing about God, reciting the glories and names of God and remembering God.[49]
2. Four kinds of bhakti: At another occasion we come across a mention of four types of devotion viz. hearing about God, reciting His glories and names, meditating on Him and worshipping Him.[50]
3. Five kinds of bhakti: Śrutadeva has made a mention of five kinds of bhakti viz., recital of God's glories by speech, hearing the stories of God, doing service of God, with hands, remembering God and His deeds, and fixing mind on the feet of the Lord.[51].
4. Six kinds of bhakti: Nala and Kubera who were liberated by Śrīkṛṣṇa have mentioned six kinds of bhakti viz. reciting the glories of God, hearing God's stories with ears, serving the Lord with hands, fixing mind on the feet of the Lord, remembering Him and His glories, and paying obeisance to the world which is the abode of the Lord.[52]
5. Seven kinds of bhakti: Here the term bhakti has to be interpreted rather liberally. If we understand the term liberally, Kapila suggests seven kinds of bhakti to attain the Lord viz., performing our social duties in a selfless manner, an intense attachment to the Lord, development of knowledge, yielding the Truth, cultivation of a strong sense of renunciation, performing penances, hearing the scriptures and performing meditation or samādhi.[53]
6. Nine kinds of bhakti: The most popular and famous kinds of bhakti are nine. These kinds are mentioned by Prahlāda to his father Hiraṇyakaśipu. They are: 1) śravaṇa (hearing), 2) kīrtana (repetition),

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3) smaraṇa (remembrance), 4) pādasevana (service to His feet), 5) arcana (worship), 6) vandana (prostration), 7) dāsya (servitude), 8) sakhya (devotion) and 9) ātmanivedana (Self-dedication).[54]

The *Bhāgavata* has mentioned still further ten kinds of bhakti,[55] eleven kinds of bhakti,[56] twelve kinds of bhakti,[57] thirteen kinds of bhakti,[58] fifteen kinds of bhakti,[59] eighteen kinds of bhakti,[60] nineteen kinds of bhakti,[61] twenty kinds of bhakti,[62] twenty four kinds of bhakti,[63] twenty six kinds of bhakti,[64] thirty kinds of bhakti[65] and thirty six kinds of bhakti.[66]

We come across, however, in the *Bhāgavata* a very important and thoughtful classification bhakti. According to this classification bhakti can be divided in two types viz. saguṇa bhakti and nirguṇa bhakti. Saguṇa bhakti is a devotion marked by some kind of desire on the part of the devotee. This desire contains a tinge of selfish motive. This desire can be of three kinds, and, therefore, three kinds of saguṇa bhakti are possible. The first but the lowest type of bhakti is tāmasa saguṇa bhakti wherein a devotee worships the Lord with a desire of taking revenge. He wants to harm his enemy, or he is envious of the prosperity of some body, or he wishes to establish his supremacy over others. The second type of saguṇa bhakti is the rājasa bhakti. It is superior to the tāmasa bhakti. In rājasa bhakti a devotee worships the Lord in some particular form with the object of securing a fulfillment of certain worldly desire like riches or renown. The third type of saguṇa bhakti is the sāttvika bhakti. It is the best kind of bhakti in the category of saguṇa bhakti. In this bhakti a devotee worships the Lord for destroying his sins, or seeking His grace or love. But even this sāttvika bhakti does not go very far. It cannot be the ideal of divine love, for it exhibits traces of some desire even in its highest flight. When one transcends the region of saguṇa bhakti one comes to the land of the nirguṇa bhakti.

The nirguṇa bhakti is marked by a desireless state of mind and is devoid of any distinction or difference. A selfless and wholly dedicated spirit is present in the nirguṇa bhakti. A person who has cultivated the nirguṇa bhakti does not care even for the various places like the sālokya

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(residence in the eternal body of the Lord), sārṣṭi (enjoying the pleasure like God), sāmīpya (the eternal proximity of the Lord), sārūpya (gaining the form like that of the Lord) and sāyūjya (getting identification with the supreme).[67] The nirguṇa bhakti is the highest development of bhakti. It is the ideal that an enlightened bhakta (devotee) keeps in his mind and ever tries to achieve.

In a way the nirguṇa bhakti reminds us about the highest objective found in the domain of knowledge. Just as a person who has attained the state of Brahmanhood or has realized the ideal of Soham (I am That) cannot be swerved from that highest stage and is completely dead to the worldly desires of every kind and description, in the similar way a person who has realized the ideal of the nirguṇa bhakti is devoid of anything mundane in character. Just as a person who has attained the highest stage of knowledge becomes the Absolute himself, in the same manner the person who has cultivated the nirguṇa bhakti becomes the Supreme himself to all intents and purposes, for he sees his Lord everywhere including in his own heart and mind. Like the Gopīs he becomes the very image of God.[68]

In the *Bhāgavata,* the path of bhakti is in no way antagonistic to the path of jñāna.[69] Even Prahlāda, the supreme devotee, has made it clear that the Lord is perfect. He does not need the worship of the unlearned. He accepts the worship from people out of compassion. The benefit of this worship too goes to the worshippers themselves. Just as the beauty of a face beautifies even the reflection reflected in the mirror, in the same way whatever respect is paid to the Lord by a devotee, is a respect by the latter to him.[70] Thus, the *Bhāgavata* from the very beginning shows a deep awareness of the ultimate nature of the Supreme Truth.[71] There is no basic difference between the Lord and the devotee from the point of view of the metaphysical truth.[72] The devotee must know that ultimately he worships the formless infinite.[73] It also condemns every attitude that tries to differentiate between the Lord and the devotee at the ultimate stage.[74] The worship of an idol is just a means of reaching

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the ultimate stage.[75] Reality is that there is only one Truth.[76] Only the persons of immature intelligence see the Lord in the idols alone.[77]

Uddhava asks a question about the easiest way of obtaining the highest position in the field of God-realization. Lord Kṛṣṇa points out that devotion is the easiest method of realizing the Supreme. When a person attains a state of complete dedication he becomes immortal.[8] When one drinks this nectar of devotion there remains nothing else for him to know.[79] This is the basic position of the *Bhāgavata*.

Conclusion

The word bhakti is derived from the root bhaj by application of ktin suffix (Pāṇini III.3.94). It consists in the spontaneous outflow of feelings and emotions towards the object of devotion. In other words, the affectionate assimilation of the individual self in the highest being with perfect concentration is bhakti. The path of bhakti in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is genuine beginning, continuing and ending in God's love. In the seventh chapter, the nine modes of worship are enumerated and they are:1) śravaṇa (hearing), 2) kīrtana (repetition), 3) smaraṇa (remembrance), 4) pādasevana (service to His feet), 5) arcana (worship), 6) vandana (prostration), 7) dāsya (servitude), 8) sakhya (devotion) and 9) ātmanivedana (self-dedication). Bhakti is again divided into sāttvika, rājasika, tāmasika and nirguṇa in accordance with the devotee's motives behind devotion. Hence, the bhakti finds its culmination in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as it lays down bhakti as superior to all other means to mokṣa. In order to have a comprehensive view of the bhakti cult of the *Bhāgavata*, it is necessary to know in brief the contents of the *Bhāgavata* and to have an insight for the purpose.

Bhakti has unique merit. In view of its importance the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* has rightly declared that even the knowledge and action attain beauty only when bhakti becomes associated therewith. Once one has tasted this ambrosia, one cannot like anything else. The path of bhakti is thus a valuable medium of realizing the Supreme. But its utility is equally great in the domains of individual perfection and social development. According to the *Bhāgavata*, a sense of utmost

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dedication and innermost attachment to God, the Beloved, is the mark of devotion. It aims at bringing about revolution in human mind. It makes a bold attempt to transform the selfish and ego-ridden life in an instance of supreme dedication.

Notes

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2. *Bhaj sevāyām.*
3. *Śrīmad Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇam* (Mūlamātram) II-7-51 & 52, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, First Edition, 1998, p. 104
4. *Op. cit.*, I-2-6, p. 50
5. *Op. cit.*, VII-9-44, p. 371; IX-21-12 & 13, pp 468-469
   Tulasīdāsa has specifically stated that there is no religion higher than serving people: *'parahita sarisa dharma nahi bhāi*
   para pīdā sama nahi adhamāī'
6. In this context the cases of literary giants like Sūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa, Tolstoy, Tagore, Aurobindo, etc., can be remembered.
7. *Ṛgveda*, Edited by Govind Chandra Pandey, Lokbharati Publishers & Book-Sellers, Allahabad, First Edition, 2008, Vol. I, I-7
8. *Ibid*, Vol. III, VI-1-5, pp 4-5
9. *Ibid*, Vol. III, VI-36-4, pp 192-193
10. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, VIII-68-11, pp 484-485
11. *Nārada Bhakti Sūtras*, I. 2, Edited by Swāmī Tyāgīśānanda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras — 4, Third Edition, 1955, p. 1
12. *Śāṇḍilyasūtram*, I-1-2, Edited by Nandalal Sinha, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, Second Revised Edition, 1998, p. 5
13. *sarvopādhivinirmuktam tatparatvena nirmalam. hṛṣīkēna hṛṣīkēśa sevanaṃ bhaktirucyate.* *Nārada Pañcarātram*, Edited by Swami Vijnanananda, *Parimal Sanskrit Series No. 36*, Parimal Publications, Delhi, Edition 1993
14. *Bhakti Rasāyana* of Madhusudana Sarasvati, I-3
15. *Op. cit.*, IV-29-50, p. 247
16. *Op. cit.*, IV-31-9, p. 252
17. *Ibid.*, IV-31-14, p. 252
18. *Op. cit.*, VI-3-22, p. 313
19. *Op. cit.*, VII-7-55, p. 364
20. *Op. cit.*, III-24-43, p. 163
21. *Op. cit.*, II-1-21, p. 90
22. *Op. cit.*, III-9-4, p. 128
23. *Op. cit.*, III-9-23, p. 130
24. *Op. cit.*, VI-9-33, p. 326

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25. *Op. cit.*, VII-6-23, p. 361
26. *Op. cit.*, VIII-1-16, p. 388
27. *Op. cit.*, VIII-3-17, p. 391
28. *Op. cit.*, X-27-6, p. 431
29. *Op. cit.*, X-29-41, p. 535
30. *Op. cit.*, X-32-2, p. 539
31. *Op. cit.*, X-37-31, p. 549
32. *Op. cit.*, X-38-36, p. 551
33. *Ibid*, X-38-22, p. 551; *Op. cit.*, X-72-6, p. 624
34. *Op. cit.*, X-39-55, p. 554
35. *Op. cit.*, X-64-26, p. 610
36. *Op. cit.*, X-1-6, p. 477
37. *Op. cit.*, X-7-18, p. 492
38. Kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam - *Op. cit.*, I-3-28, p. 52; I-7-7, p. 59; X-44-13, p. 562
39. The Bhāgavata-māhātmya as contained in the *Padmapurāṇa*, 1-11
40. *Op. cit.*, X-29-31, p. 535
41. *Op. cit.*, XI-2-36, p. 670
42. *Op. cit.*, X-44-15, p. 562
43. *Op. cit.*, I-2-6, p. 50
44. *Op. cit.*, I-1-2, p. 49
45. *Op. cit.*, XI-11-29 to 33, p. 689
46. J.W. Appel's 'Incidence of Neuropsychiatric Disorders in the United States Army in World War II', Amer. J. Psychiet. (1946) p. 102
47. *maccittaḥ sarvadurgāṇi matprasādāttariṣyasi*— *The Bhagavadgītā* (with English Translation), XVIII-58, Edited by D. S. Sarma, The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras, 1948, p.178
48. *The Bhagavadgītā*, VI-30, p. 66; XVIII-55, p. 177 : *Op. cit.*, I-7-10, p. 399; XII-11-11, p. 750
49. *Op. cit.*, II-1-22, p. 90; VI-2-3, p. 310
50. *Op. cit.*, I-2-14, p. 29
51. *Op. cit.*, X-86-46, p. 654
52. *Op. cit.*, X-10-38, p. 498
53. *Op. cit.*, III-27-21 to 23, p. 169
54. *Op. cit.*, VII-5-23, p. 349
55. *Op. cit.*, II-3-19 to 24, p. 94
56. *Op. cit.*, IX-4-18 to 20, p. 440
57. *Op. cit.*, VII-7-30 to 36, p. 363
58. *Op. cit.*, XI-29-9 to 16, p. 723
59. *Op. cit.*, XI-19-20 to 23, p. 704
60. *Op. cit.*, III-27-6 to 11, p. 169
61. *Op. cit.*, IV-22-22 to25, pp 230-231

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62. *Op. cit.*, III-29-15 to 19, p. 173
63. *Op. cit.*, XI-11-34 to 41, p. 690
64. *Op. cit.*, V-5-10 to 13, p. 263
65. *Op. cit.*, VII-11-8 to 12, p. 376
66. *Op. cit.*, XI-3-23 to 31, p. 672
67. *Op. cit.*, III-29-7 to 13, pp 172-173
68. *Op. cit.*, X-30-3, p. 536
69. *Op. cit.*, XI-20-6, p. 705; (Śrīkṛṣṇa's address to Gopikās) X-82-47, p. 644; I-7-10, p. 59
70. *Op. cit.*, VII-9-11, p. 369
71. *Op. cit.*, I-1-1, p. 49
72. *Op. cit.*, IV-28-62, p. 245; XI-3-53, p. 673
73. *Op. cit.*, VII-9-51, p. 372
74. *Op. cit.*, III-29-26, p. 173
75. *Ibid*, III-29-25 ; III-29-21, p. 173
76. *Op. cit.*, X-55-44, p.589
77. *Op. cit.*, X-86-55, p. 655
78. *Op. cit.*, XI-29-34, p. 724
79. *Ibid*, XI-29-32, p. 724

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प्रतिभावाक्यार्थस्वरूपविमर्शः

रमेश झा

‘प्रतिभावाक्यार्थस्वरूपविमर्शः’ अत्र विमर्शपदार्थः परामर्शरूपः, स च परामर्शः विचाररूप एव। अतश्च प्रतिभावाक्यार्थस्वरूपविचारपदेन प्रतिभास्वरूपस्य विचारः कर्त्तव्य इति प्रतिज्ञावाक्यं निष्पन्नं भवति। एवञ्च प्रतिभावाक्यार्थस्वरूपविचारप्रसङ्गे यथा प्रतिभायाः किं स्वरूपमिति प्रस्तुतं भवति, तथैव तस्याः किं लक्षणं तत्र किं प्रमाणं तस्याश्च किं प्रयोजनमित्यादिकमपि प्रस्तुतं भवति। तत्र प्रतिभानाम बुद्धिविशेष एव, एवञ्च बुद्धिविशेषपदेन केचनऽऽचार्याः स्फूर्त्याख्या[१] बुद्धीति स्वीकुर्वन्ति। केचन प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिरेव[२] प्रतिभापदार्थः, केचन च[३] ‘नवनवोन्मेषशालिनीप्रतिभावाक्यार्थः’ इत्यामनन्ति। किन्तु सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतान्यधिकृत्य एवमवश्यमेव निर्णीतं भवति यत् प्रतिभा प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिरेव वाक्यार्थः। प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिपुरुषः शास्त्रवहिर्भूतान् पदार्थानप्यधिकृत्य स्वकीयं विचारं विदुषां समक्षमुपस्थापयति।

ये खलु प्रतिभाशालिनः विद्वांसः भवन्ति, तेषां वैशिष्ट्यं विद्वत्सदसि नूनमेव प्रस्तुतं भवति, तत्सकाशादेव ते विद्वांसः विद्वत्समाजे प्रतिष्ठां लभन्ते। अत एव प्रतिभायाः प्रत्युत्पन्नमतित्वं लक्षणं सम्पन्नं भवति। प्रतिभात्वं जातिविशेष[४] एव, एवञ्च शब्दार्थात्मककाव्यकारणतावच्छेदकतयाऽनुमानेन[५] प्रतिभावाक्यार्थत्वं सिद्ध्यति। कुत्रचित्स्थलविशेषे[६]प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणमाध्यमेनैव जातेर्सिद्धिर्भवति। कुत्रचिच्चानुमानत[७] एव तत् सिद्धिर्जायते। यथा कार्यसमवायिकारणतावच्छेदकतया संयोगस्य विभागस्य वा समवायिकारणतावच्छेदकतया द्रव्यत्वं जातिरिति सिद्ध्यति, तथैव स्वविषयकज्ञानसमवायित्वसम्बन्धेन शब्दार्थौ प्रति समवायसम्बन्धेन प्रतिभाकारणं[८] भवति। एवं शब्दार्थौ तद्विषयकज्ञानस्य समवायिकारणं चेतन आत्मा[९] एव भवति, यतो ह्यात्मनि[१०]चतुर्दशसंख्यकाः गुणाः तिष्ठन्तीति न्यायसिद्धान्तसिद्धं विद्यते। तेषु बुद्ध्यादिषट्कमपि आत्मगुणा एव। न तु शरीरादीनाम्। शरीरादिष्वपि परम्परयाऽऽत्मा एव चैतन्यसम्पादको भवति। अत एव ज्ञानाधिकरणत्वेनऽऽत्माचार्यैः निरूपितः।

एवञ्च यत्र प्रतिभा भवति, तत्काव्येषु विलक्षणचमत्कारः दृश्यते, तत्काव्येषु प्रतिपदं व्यावर्तकं भवति। यथा महाकविकालिदासेन प्रोक्तं ‘कश्चित् कान्ता विरहगुरुणा......[११]’। अत्र कश्चित्पदोपादानं किमर्थमिति क्रियमाणे विचारे इदमेवाऽनुमितं भवति यत् कविना मुख्यपात्रस्य एतदर्थमेव नामोल्लेखो न कृतः, यतो हि तेषां मनसि अतिप्रियत्वेन प्रच्छन्नः राम एव मुख्यपात्रत्वेनासीत्। किञ्च ‘कान्ता’पदमपहाय यदि स्त्रीवाचकं किमपि तदन्यपदं सन्निहितं स्यात्, न स्याच्च विरहस्य गुरुत्वं, यतो हि कान्तायाः विरहः यथा भीषणदुःखदः भवति, न तथा भार्यायाः। यतो हि भार्या पुत्रवती भवति, कान्ता इदानीं पुत्ररहिता ‘नवोढा’[१२] च भवति।

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अस्मिन् मेघदूतखण्डकाव्ये एतादृशं वैलक्षण्यं तत्तु न साधारणबुद्धिफलमपि तु प्रतिभाया एव फलम्। सा च प्रतिभा कथङ्कारं कविष्वायाति, इति विचारणीयो विषयः। केषु कविषु जन्मत एव प्रतिभा दृश्यते, केषुचित् कविषूपासनात एव प्रतिभाऽऽयाति। यथा - पण्डितप्रवरमधुसूदनप्रभृतिषु, इति कर्णपरम्परया श्रूयते। गायत्र्यारनुष्ठानं तेन 'मधुसूदन' महाविदुषा वारत्रयं कृतम्। एवञ्च प्रतिभायाःसिद्धौ सत्यां तेन ये ये ग्रन्थाः रचितास्तद्विषयेऽधुनापि विपश्चिदपश्चिमानां विदुषां मतिस्तिरोहिता नास्ति। इयञ्चोपासना सगुणब्रह्मविषयकमानसव्यापाररूपा। एवं कुत्रचित्स्थलविशेषे दृश्यते गुरुसकाशात्प्राप्ताशीर्वादैः छात्रा प्रतिभां लभन्ते। कुत्रचिच्च व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाभ्यां[१३] प्रतिभायाः लाभो भवति। अत्राऽयं विचारः प्रस्तूयते यत् काव्यं प्रति प्रतिभादीनां सर्वेषां सम्मिलितत्वेन कारणं भवति, उत वा 'तृणारणिमणि'[१४] न्यायेन वा पृथक्-पृथक् कारणत्वम्। यथा विजातीयवह्निं प्रति फूत्कारविशिष्टतृणस्य कारणता, यथा च विजातीयवह्निं प्रति सूर्यकिरणविशिष्टमणेः कारणता इति पृथक्-पृथक् कारणता निर्णीताऽस्ति, न तथा काव्योत्पत्तौ कारणता निर्दिष्टा दृश्यते। यथा चोक्तम्-

शक्तिनिपुणतालोककाव्यशास्त्राद्यवेक्षणात्।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाऽभ्यासः इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे[१५]।। इति।।

अनया कारिकया क्रियमाणे विचारे एवमायाति यदि [१६]शक्तिर्नाम प्रतिभा एव स्यात्तर्हि काव्योद्भवे शक्तिनिपुणताभ्यासाः समुदिता एव कारणता भवेयुः। उक्तञ्च तत्कारिकाव्याख्यानावसरेऽऽचार्यः त्रयः समुदिताः हेतवः[१७] इत्यर्थः। व्याख्यानेन एवमायाति यत्काव्योद्भवे न तावत्प्रतिभायाः मुख्यकारणता। यथा प्रतिभायाः, तथैव निपुणतायारभ्यासस्य[१८] च। परञ्च रसगङ्गाधरकारेण प्रतिभाया एव मुख्यकारणता प्रतिपादितास्तन्मते- इयञ्च प्रतिभा उपासनातः[१९], क्वचिच्च गुरोराशीर्वादतः सम्भवति। तथैव व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासशकासादपि समुद्भवा प्रतिभा मुख्यतया कारणं भवति। तेन च प्रतिभायाः स्फूर्त्याख्याबुद्धिरूपायाः, नवनवोन्मेषशालिन्याः प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिरूपायाः वैशिष्ट्यं प्रतिपादितम्, न तथाऽन्यत्र दृश्यते। उक्तञ्च न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावलिकारेण नवीनास्तु मङ्गलस्य विघ्नध्वंस एव फलं, न तु समाप्तिरूपं फलं, समाप्तिस्तु बुद्धिप्रतिभाकलापादिति[२०] तन्मतेऽपि प्रतिभायाः मुख्यकारणत्वं तु न तावद् दरीदृश्यते, यतो हि समाप्तिं प्रति यथा बुद्धेः कारणत्वं तथैव प्रतिभायाः। एवमादिपदग्राह्य संसर्गाभावस्यापि तेन सङ्ग्रहकृतः। अत्र मया यद् किञ्चित्प्रस्तूयतेऽन्यत्रास्तु यथा तथा, तथापि चमत्कृतविशिष्टशब्दार्थात्मकं काव्यं प्रति प्रतिभावाक्यार्थ एव मुख्यं कारणमिति न विस्मर्तव्यम्।

वैयाकरणानां नागेशभट्टादीनां मते - 'प्रतिभा वाक्यार्थः'[२१] वाक्यपदीये तु संज्ञावाचकशब्देषु नियतसंज्ञिनः ज्ञाने सति कल्पितपदार्थेन सिद्धा प्रतिभा एव वाक्यार्थः सिद्ध्यति। यथा-

विच्छेदग्रहणेऽर्थानां प्रतिभान्येव जायते।
वाक्यार्थ इति तामाहुः पदार्थैरुपपादितताम्।।[२२] इति ।।

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किञ्च-

यथा द्रव्यविशेषाणां परिपाकैकरयत्नजाः।
मदादिशक्तयो दृष्टाः प्रतिभास्तद्वतां तथा।।[२३] इति ।।

एवञ्च षड्द्वाराणि प्राप्त्युपाया यस्या वाचस्तां षड्द्वारम्, तस्या वाचो बहुधा शक्तयो या हि षड्विधां प्रतिभां जनयितुं प्रवर्तन्ते। ताभिः षड्भिः प्रतिभाभिः सा परा वागपि प्राप्यते। ताश्च षड्विधाः प्रतिभाः -

स्वभावचरणाभ्यासयोगादृष्टोपपादिताम्।
विशिष्टोपगताञ्चेति प्रतिभां षड्विधां विदुः।।[२४] इति । (वा. प. २.१५२)।

तत्र स्वभावतः प्राक्तनः संस्कारः, चरणं साधनानुष्ठानम्, अभ्यासः सजातीयप्रत्ययाभ्यासरूपं ध्यानम्, योगः समाधिः, अदृष्टम् इष्टदेवताराधनादिजन्यं पुण्यम्, तैरुपपादिता उत्पादिता, विशिष्टोपगता, विशिष्टात् परावाक्साक्षात्कारविशिष्टाद् आचार्याद् उपगता, विधिवत्प्राप्ता चेत्येवं प्रतिभां विदुरित्यर्थः।[२५]

षड्विधानां षड्विधायाः प्रतिभाया विषयीभूता ये षड् अर्थास्ते वाच्यत्वेन कार्यत्वेन वाऽधिष्ठानमाश्रयो यस्या वाचस्ताम्। षड्प्रबोधाम्, ताभिः षड्भिः प्रतिभाभिः जायमाना ये षड्प्रबोधास्ते कार्यभूता यस्या वैखरीरूपत्वमापन्नाया वाचः, अथवा ज्ञापकाः परस्याः वाचः, सा तथाभूतांताम्। षडव्ययां षड्प्रतिभागोचरीकृताः षडर्थास्तत्संसर्गा वा अव्ययानि शाश्वतानि नित्यानि रूपाणि यस्याः परस्या [२६]वाचसाताम्।

इत्थं प्रतिभावाक्यार्थस्वरूपविमर्शः संक्षेपेण प्रतिपादित इति।। शम् ।।

सन्दर्भग्रन्थाः

१. पण्डितराजकृतरसगङ्गाधरे तट्टीकाग्रन्थे च।
२. अमरकोषे - तृतीये काण्डे - श्लोक सं. १६।
३. कोषे - प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता इति रुद्रः।
४. रसगङ्गाधरः - पण्डितराजजगन्नाथकृत।
५. रसगङ्गाधरे
६. रसगङ्गाधरे
७. रसगङ्गाधरे
८. न्यायशास्त्रे
९. न्यायशास्त्रे
१०. न्यायशास्त्रे
११. कालिदासविरचित - मेघदूतम् - इति खण्डकाव्ये पूर्वमेघे का. सं. १।
१२. साहित्यदर्पणे तृतीयपरिच्छेदे द्रष्टव्यम्।
१३. पण्डितराजकृत रसगङ्गाधरे प्रथममानने।
१४. " " " " " " " टीकायाम्।

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१५. काव्यप्रकाशग्रन्थे - (१.२)
१६. काव्यप्रकाशग्रन्थे
१७. काव्यप्रकाशग्रन्थे
१८. काव्यप्रकाशग्रन्थे
१९. पण्डितराजजगन्नाथकृत - रसगङ्गाधरग्रन्थे विद्यते।
२०. न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावलिग्रन्थे - प्रत्यक्षखण्डे किरणावलीटीकाग्रन्थे च।
२१. वाक्यपदीयम्। - द्वि. भागे
२२. वाक्यपदीयम्। - द्वि. भागे
२३. वाक्यपदीयम्। - द्वि. भागे
२४. वाक्यपदीयम्। - (२.१५२)।
२५. अम्बाकर्त्रीव्याख्यायाम्।
२६. अम्बाकर्त्रीव्याख्यायाम्।

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21

The Object of Worship with and without Attributes in Māgha

Anupama Ryali

History of Indian religion and spirituality has an inner continuity, even though form and atmosphere have changed from time to time in the course of millennia. The vedic beginning was so vast, so lofty and so comprehensive in the seed form that the later developments gave emphasis on intellectuality and emotionality to bring larger and larger sections of people into the experience of divinity. In the vedas, we find one Universal God of whom, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Indra etc., are all alike forms and cosmic aspects. It is the mental state of devotee to experience God either with or without attribute, which helps him in changing the suffering world to the blissful world.

Māgha, the theist portrayed Kṛṣṇa, as God, in his work *Śiśupālavadha*, which added a spiritual and philosophic dimension to the story. The portrayal of Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the said work as an incarnation of God in human form on the one hand and also as the formless Brahman on the other made Māgha, look for the quintessence of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He struck a balance between the two extremes by propounding that there was essentially no difference between Kṛṣṇa, the visible God and the same Kṛṣṇa, as the invisible Brahman. Māgha opined that the first benefits his devotees, while latter helps many, in attaining salvation.

The Formless God as Depicted by Māgha

The concept of God without attributes or the supreme Brahman as explained in śruti, smṛti etc., such as -

तमेव विदित्वा अतिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यते अयनाय and also
न स पुनरावर्तते।

Māgha also advocates the same. The formless Kṛṣṇa, is the one to be realized by the Yogins. Just as a person passing through the thorny forest feels secured on, fortunately finding a safe place, so also one

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entangled with the material objects who yearns to tred the unpractised and difficult path to salvation attains his destination, with the appearance of this Supreme God, reaching where one does not have to return-

> उदासितारं निगृहीतमानसैर्गृहीतमध्यात्मदृशा कथञ्चन।
> बहिर्विकारं प्रकृतेः पृथग्विदुः पुरातनं त्वां पुरुषं पुराविदः।।

Māgha, in his Kāvya, laid stress more on elucidating the visible form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, rather than his formless attribute. He was praised by the different characters like Nārada, Bhīma, Dharmarāja, etc., on various occasions, for his enormous virtuous deeds. While portraying the God with attribute, especially Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Māgha brought out all the ten incarnations and other too such as Mohinī, Dattātreya etc., where he depicted the valorous deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, that were demonstrated only-to protect his devotees or to protect the righteous order of the world.

In the very beginning of the Kāvya, the sage Nārada praises Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, as the chief sculptor of the three worlds, who had constructed the palace of the serpants, effortlessly placed the earth, pillar-like on the hoods of the serpant-king-

> निवेशयामासिथ हेलयोद्धृतं फणाभृतां छादनमेकमोकसः।
> जगत्त्रयैकस्थपतिस्त्वमुच्चकैरहीश्वरस्तम्भशिरः सु भूतलम्।। (शिशु-१-३४)

Nārada opines that no one knows the greatness of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa the prime-object. Though he bears the body of human, with his virtues like kindness, generosity etc., he excels all Gods and demons-

> अनन्यंगुर्व्यास्तव केन केवलः पुराणमूर्तेर्महिमावगम्यते।
> मनुष्यनामापि सुरासुरान्गुणैर्भवान्भवच्छेदकरः करोत्यधः।। (शिशु-१-३५)

Indeed Lord Kṛṣṇa has incarnated from the heaven with an intention to render the burdenless earth, which is bearing down under the weight of demons. But, now the earth is made heavier by him, as he is the bearer of the three worlds -

> लघूकरिष्यन्नतिभारभङ्गुराममूं किल त्वं त्रिदिवादवातरः।
> उदूढलोकत्रितयेन साम्प्रतं गुरुर्धरित्री क्रियतेतरां त्वया।। (शिशु-१-३६)

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Had he not appeared on the earth with his brilliance to destroy the demons, it would not have been possible to see him on the earth as he is the one who is invisible even to the Yogins-

उपप्लुतं पातुमदो मदोद्धतैस्त्वमेव विश्वम्भर! विश्वमीशिषे।
ऋते रवेः क्षालयितुं क्षमेत कः क्षपातमस्काण्डमलीमसं नभः।। (शिशु-१-३८)

Māgha opines that Lord Kṛṣṇa is the creator of all the three worlds. He is the one who first created the water where, he sows an essential seed. Thence the Hiraṇmaya Brahman evolved, from whom the entire world was created-

पूर्वमेव किल सृष्टवानपस्तासु वीर्यमनिवार्यमादधौ।
तच्च कारणमभूद्धिरण्मयं ब्रह्मणोऽसृजदसाविदं जगत्।। (शिशु-१४-६७)

Here Māgha avers the opinion of Manu-

अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु बीजमवासृजत्।
तदण्डमभवद्धैमं सहस्रांशुसमप्रभम्।
तस्मिञ्जज्ञे स्वयं ब्रह्मा सर्वलोकपितामहः।। (मनु-१/८-९)

The three fold aspects of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa

Scriptures observe that the Supreme God Brahman, having split into three forms, rules the Universe-

रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्ववृत्तये स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमः स्पृशे।
अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवेत्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः।।

Following the same, Māgha established that it was Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who, having resorted to रजोगुण, created the world and is called Brahman. Similarly, having resorted to सत्वगुण rules the world and is known as Lord Viṣṇu. The same Kṛṣṇa resorts to तमोगुण and destroys the world and is called, Lord Śiva-

पद्मभूरिति सृजञ्जगद्रजः सत्वमच्युत इति स्थितिं नयन्।
संहरन् हर इति श्रितस्तमस्त्रैधमेष भजति त्रिभिर्गुणैः।। (शिशु-१४-६९)

Some of the Incarnations of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa

Māgha, further explicates the various incarnations of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In the incarnation of Varāha, the Great Boar, the Supreme Lord uplifted

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the Earth on His tusks in order to save her from getting drowned in the endless waters at the time of total dissolution-

स्कन्धधूननविसारिकेसरक्षिप्तसागरमहाप्लवामयम्।
उद्धृतामिव मुहूर्तमैक्षत स्थूलनासिकवपुर्वसुन्धराम्।। (शिशु-१४-७१)

Having borne the form of Nṛsimha, with the body of a huge lion and with the collection of the beaming rays of his tresses dispersing the clouds, he killed the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, by tearing his chest with those tender nails, which break at the contact of the bosoms of a young maiden-

सटाच्छटाभिन्नघनेन बिभ्रता नृसिंह! सैंहीमतनुं तनुं त्वया।
स मुग्धकान्तास्तनसङ्गभङ्गुरैरुरोविदारं प्रतिचस्करे नखैः।। (शिशु-१-४७)

Though he is the creator, having obtained the brotherhood of Indra, took the form of Vāmana, with an intention to protect the world from the demon Bāli-

दीप्तिनिर्जितविरोचनादयं गां विरोचनसुतादभीप्सतः।
आत्मभूरवरजाऽखिलप्रजः स्वर्पतेरवरजत्वमाययौ।। (शिशु-१४-७४)

Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa also took the form of Mohinī, at the time of churning the ocean with a view to protect the Gods-

यस्य किञ्चिदपकर्तुमक्षमः कायनिग्रहगृहीतविग्रहः।
कान्तवक्त्रसदृशाकृतिं कृती राहुरिन्दुमधुनाऽपि बाधते।। (शिशु-१४-७८)

He also took the forms of Dattātreya and Paraśurāma and performed various valorous deeds-

सम्प्रदायविगमादुपेयुषीरेष नाशमविनाशिविग्रहः।
स्मर्तुमप्रतिहतस्मृतिः श्रुतीर्दत्त इत्यभवदत्रिगोत्रजः।।
रेणुकातनयतामुपागतः शातितप्रचुरपत्रसंहति।
लूनभूरिभुजशाखमुज्झितच्छायमर्जुनवनं व्यधादयम्।। (शिशु-१४-७९, ८०)

Similarly, in the incarnation of Rāma, he killed the demon Rāvaṇa and protected the earth-

एष दाशरथिभूयमेत्य च ध्वंसितोद्धतदशाननामपि।
राक्षसीमकृत रक्षितप्रजस्तेजसाऽधिक विभीषणां पुरीम्।। (शिशु-१४-८१)

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Conclusion

Thus, Māgha, proved the dual aspects of theism, by skillfully portraying Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa with and without attributes to grace the world and to relieve His devotees from the cycle of births and deaths.

References

1. *Śiśupālavadham* by Māgha
2. *Manusmṛti*
3. *Bhagavadgītā*
4. *Upaniṣads*
5. *Brahmasūtras*

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Textual and Conceptual sources of Vāk for Abhinavagupta's Literature

Shruti Rai

The concept of vāk reaches at the height of excellence with the logical arguments throughout the magnificent works of Abhinavagupta. The multidimensional concept does not only give a recount of philosophy of language, even it opens the door for many research areas. The principles, including arguments and methodology of the vāk, are relevant to the aesthetics philosophy of language and philosophy of religion, yogic philosophy and sādhana. Getting these entire dimensions, one query comes in mind that what is the source of this multidimensional vāk principle? Is it an original principle which has been developed by Abhinavagupta by himself? Or does Abhinavagupta borrow this principle from somewhere else? Or does he develop the principle through understanding of the principles which have been flourished in other tradition as well as in his tradition. Thus, inquiry about the sources of vāk, is the essential step for understanding its nature. One thing is undisputable that the principle is not borrowed or taken from outside other than tantric thought. The essence of vāk principle has been rooted already in the earlier texts of tantra and is fully flourished in the works of Abhinavagupta. The logical explanation comes from his mind, because such logical presentation is not seen in the works of his predecessors. Although, the nomenclatures have similarity with the other Indian philosophical schools, but the content of these principles are dealt in different way in the theory of Abhinavagupta. For instance, the theory of sāmānya lakṣaṇa, svalakṣaṇa, lakṣaṇa are the same terms which are used in the Buddhist philosophy also, but both systems examine them in a different manner. But, more or less, Abhinavagupta is influenced from other tradition too. At the one side, he gets the idea

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of vāk from the benefactors of his tradition, simultaneously; he is influenced by the other tradition also for the development of vāk principle. These sources within tantric tradition and outside tradition would be-

1. *Śaiva Upaniṣad and Śaivāgama*
2. Vedic texts
3. *Vākyapadīya*
4. *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana.

1. Āgama (*Śaiva Upaniṣad* and *Śaivāgama*)

The first primary source is itself *Śaiva Upaniṣads* and āgama. Being a Śaivite, he must have inspired by the texts of his own Śaiva tradition which would be his first school. K.C. Pandey gives detailed description about these sources in the first part (historical) of his book *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study.*[1] Accordingly, Dvaita, Dvaitādvaita, Advaita system of tantras and other schools of Śaiva like Siddhānta Śaiva, Lakuliśa Pāśupata etc. influenced the thought process of Abhinavagupta. There is the broader and the deeper part of tantras and their schools give historical and philosophical background to Abhinavagupta. In conjunction with, he intensifies theories of his own school of Kashmir Śaivism. In this manner, all the texts enjoined him in deepening the vision for the enlargement of his thought. It requires a consideration through systematic research.

2. Vedic texts

Vedas are accepted as the eternal source of knowledge. They are also called nigama. Āgamas and nigamas have same purpose i.e. liberation as both are the eternal source of knowledge. Both are accepted as parallel streams. Both streams have same gradation and authority on subjects. They have same ultimate goals but with different means.[2] However, Vedas also prepare the foreground for Abhinavagupta in the development of his ideas. The vāk sūkta of *Ṛgveda* influences the thought of Abhinavagupta, because in this sūkta, vāk is also a creative principle. His concept vāk must have found elementary key hypothesis

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from the concept of female counterpart of the Vedas, like Śacī, Sarasvatī, Vāk. The concept of effeminate develops in various manners in the whole Vedic tradition. It takes the form of helpmate that is wife, simply mother of powerful devatā and as individual existent, like vāk. Generally, her maternal feature presents powerful and creative characteristics. When she performs as spouse, she is the helper of her husband. These female mates as the spouse of male devatās, are symbolically, would be power of them. All the Vedic gods such as Indra, Agni, Ttvaṣṭṛ etc. have certain cosmic powers or functions (III. 57.3, III. 31.14, IV. 22.8, V. 31.6, and X. 88.10). Originally, these powers are simply part of the deva's nature, but in some contexts one begins to connect this power or function to the notion of female consorts of the devatās (I. 82, 5, 6) (III. 53.4f), (I. 22.12) (II. 32.8). The notion of śakti or śacī appears to have a close affinity in the function as to the *Gṇās*, the wives or the divine females who accompany devatā, for example - Sarasvatī, Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Hotrā, Āgnāyī etc. (II. 32.8, I. 33.10, II. 31.4, V. 46.2). As the power of male devas, these powers function under the supervision of their monogamists. The meaning of śaci is adducing the aspect of competence, which is supporting other aspects of female principle as Śakti. Through their etymology, these female counterparts are closely related to each other, both are derived from the root /śak, which means- to be able and to have a certain capacity or power to do anything. Usually in the later Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, these female consorts start playing role in the Vedic mantras, like in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 5.4.7, the same way, feminine aspects are presenting the aspect of energy, function or power independently. As a mother, these fertile aspects are free, the most powerful and pervasive. These creative forces that are unifying concepts are named as vāk, just as the masculine creative forces are represented into the form of Puruṣa or Prajāpati. Vāk is the personified creative female and powerful principle of energy according to *Ṛgveda* (X.125). In the *Brāhmaṇa*, vāk is the consort of prajāpati and they created things in a combined way. She is the mother of all mantras, she is the uttered speech as well as inner thought process of Brahman. On the

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basis of these female powers, Abhinavagupta would have prepared the concept of vāk where vāk is the śakti of Śiva and the creative principle. Both aspects have been already dealt with in the Nigama tradition.

3. Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya

The *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, entirely devoted to the philosophical domain of language, is the other significant text, which influences Abhinavagupta to the larger extent. Abhinavagupta respects only Bhartṛhari so much, while other grammarians are not welcomed by him. The development of the theory of Bhartṛhari is found in the works of Abhinavagupta and the other Śaiva texts, along with other grammarian successors. Bhartṛhari deals with the chief issues like nature of language, relationship between word and object, theory of semantic through the sphoṭa theory etc. All these issues have been dealt in the treatise of Abhinavagupta more deeply, although Abhinavagupta does not take sphoṭa theory. Without any dispute, most of the experts of this school accept the influence of philosophy of Bhartṛhari on Abhinavagupta[3]. Navajivan Rastogi casts light onto the pratyavamarśa which is one of the theories of Kashmir Śaiva. The theory shows influence of Bhartṛhari on Abhinavagupta. Navajivan Rastogi indicates concisely these things in the following way-

The vision, to a great extent, AG inherits from BH. The ideas of word as the creative principle, unity of thought and speech, world of experience constituted by the powers of word as the ultimate principle, speech as the basis and constitutive of the empirical world of purposeful activities, vimarśa and anusandhāna (unification) not only participating in apprehending and communicating but also in ordering and coordinating our universe of discourse (vyavasthā), language in its transcendental aspect transfiguring into religious language par excellence, soteriology of language leading to self-realization and language being the root of our literary, cultural and aesthetic pursuits, all have been taken from BH. Even the major tools and metaphors of crystal, of liquid in a peahen's yolk, vāgyoga, notion of superimposition of the word on meaning (adhyāsa), illustration of rapid reading, rapid

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movement, stillness, all these are drawn by UTP and AG from BH. Here AG's contribution is threefold. First, he continues the basic thrust of BH by meeting criticism from Buddhist logicians specially Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara viś-a-viś their notion of śabdana as abhilāpa and apoha in particular, be defending BH against the attack from the realists and also against the dualistic linguistic formulation of Siddhānta Śaivism, second he clarifies vague and doubtful areas as for instance the relationship between word and meaning articulated in the word – penetration doctrine (and the use of expression such as 'as if'-iva-as in anuviddhamiva), treating meaning as vivarta of word (without being sure as to what it stands for: whether transformation or appearance), freedom of the ultimate principle being coloured by nescience, meaning and the process of pratyavimarśa, the ontological status of meaning, and the existence of the transcendental level of language as parā-these are, inter alia several areas that demanded a precise formulation. Third, he develops hints and insight which were in incipient stage in BH or were only suggested therein. Here we have a creation of full bodied religious language, depicting reality as constituted by the sacred language (mantraśarīra or śabdarāśī) and its essence as mantra or śabdana, building up a thoroughly structured aesthetics, integrating speech with resonance within the framework of the basic aesthetical formulations, evolving the notion of enjoyer (bhoktā) into that of aesthete at the level of both metaphysics as well as art-experience rooted in BH's formulation of grammatical notion of subject as bhoktā and modulating some of foundational linguistic insights, viz., pronouncing the coeval status of word and meaning and yet synthesizing them into an identity (śabdārtha-sāmarasya) instead of treating meaning as having word as its nature (śabdanātmaka) and not thought as if pierced by or shot with the word, taking word as attribute and meaning as substantive, going in fact to the extent of making either of them give up their designation as attribute or substantive within the process of adhyāsa, visualizing the word and meaning in harmony instead of the word-principle alone as the supreme reality and finally construing the notion of pratyavamarśa as aham-pratyavamarśa (self-referring affirmation)[4].

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In this way, Abhinavagupta is greatly influenced by Bhartṛhari. He takes many principles from the *Vākyapadīya* and develops deeply according to his tradition and thought.

4. Dhvani Theory of Sanskrit Poetics

Another important source, which influences Abhinavagupta, is the theory of rasa and dhvani. According to the Indian tradition of poetics, the excellence or beauty in the work of art has to do with the intensity of certain emotional states aroused in the reader or spectator as a result of his experience of the work of art. Each of us has certain permanent or fundamental feelings which manifest themselves in various combinations in ordinary life. When we are aroused aesthetically, a certain state of consciousness manifests itself and this aesthetics state of consciousness is called rasa. The developed form of rasa is seen as dhvani in Ānandavardhana[5], which means resonance or suggestibility. The basis of the rasa is dhvani that is suggestiveness, a resonant sensibility which occurs as a result of all great poetry. It is something beyond the conventional meaning of words, although it is revealed or released as a result of conventional expression. In ordinary experience, man speaks from an instrumental, with discursive perspective, in art, one's consciousness is expanded. Thus, experience goes beyond the discursive and instrumental elements. One resonates and opens oneself to a universal joy through the sādhāraṇīkaraṇa. However, the capacity to create such an aesthetic experience by the artist or writer and capacity to enjoy such an experience by the appreciative or responsive reader is discussed usually by the terms pratibhā, bhāvanā, sahṛdaya etc. Pratibhā[6] is the creative intuition of the poet as well as the intuitive receptivity of the responsive reader. Bhāvanā is the power of producing and refers to the capacity of the poet to create a work of art. Sahṛdaya refers to the imaginative or sensitive reader. All these notions are used synonymously with the term śakti. In this context, śakti is the creative imagination of the spectator or reader. Śakti in this context is still vāk, but not literal word. She is the capacity to create and experience rasa or dhvani, the capacity to evoke or receive a resonating suggestiveness

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achieved by the word yet transcending the word and leading to an experience of universal joy or wonder. So, these aesthetic principles throw great impact on the complete realm of Tantra and its philosophy. Accordingly, thought of Abhinavagupta is greatly influenced by the theory of dhvani, pratibhā, sahṛdaya and so on.

In this manner, these principles prepare the ground to speculate the vāk with more dimensions and help in developing the theory of vāk. Thus the vāk principle becomes relevant in the field of philosophy, aesthetics, and literary theory mainly, which have been become quite relevant in the contemporary intellectual tradition of oriental and occidental thought systems.

Notes

1. See V chapter in '*Historical Background of His Thought*' of *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study*.
2. Dr. Rajnish Mishra analyzes āgama and nigama in his Ph.D. Thesis: *Śaiva Philosophy and Literary theory: An Examination of Abhinavagupta's Poetics With Special Reference to Tantrāloka*.
3. Rastogi, Navjivan, "Vak" in '*Kashmira Shivadvayavada ki Mula Avadharanayen*', p. 66.
4. Rastogi, Navjivan, "*Vāk as Pratyavimarśa: Bhartṛhari from Abhinavan Perspective*" in '*Bhartṛhari: Language, Thought and Reality*', P. 325-6.
5. *Artho guṇīkṛtātmā guṇīkṛtābhidheyaḥ śabdo vā yatrārthāntaramabhivyanakti sa dhvaniriti. teṣu katham tasyāntarbhāvaḥ. Vyaṅgyaprādhānye hi dhvaniḥ Dhvanyālokalocana,* com. on 1.13
6. *Apūrvavastunirmāṇakṣamā prajñā. Tasyāḥ viśeṣo rasāveśavaiśadyasaundaryakāvyanirmāṇakṣamatvam.* Ibid, com. on 16.

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कैयटादि भाष्यव्याख्याताओं की उदात्तादिस्वरूप-विषयक भ्रान्ति

विजयपाल शास्त्री

श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिप्रणीत महाभाष्य की भाषा यद्यपि बहुत सरल, सुललित व सरस है, अत: भाषासौष्ठव से यह आपाततः अति सरल प्रतीत होता है तथापि इसमें गम्भीर अर्थ छिपा है, जिस तक पहूँचना कहीं-कहीं सुधीजनों के लिए भी दुष्कर हो जाता है, अकृतबुद्धियों की तो बात ही क्या है? भर्तृहरि ने वाक्यपदीय में कुछ ऐसा ही कहा है -

अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्।
तस्मिन्नकृतबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निष्ठाय:।।१

प्रस्तुत शोधलेख में प्रतिपादित किया है कि उदात्तादि के मुनित्रय-सम्मत स्वरूप को कैयट-नागेशादि भाष्यव्याख्याताओं ने मूल के विपरीत ही प्रस्तुत कर दिया है तथा उनके द्वारा उद्भावित वह भ्रान्ति परवर्ती वैयाकरणों में प्ररूढ होकर सिद्धान्तकौमुदी आदि ग्रन्थों के माध्यम से आज सर्वत्र पठन-पाठन व लेखन में व्याप्त हो गई है। यहाँ उसी महती भ्रान्ति का सप्रमाण निराकरण कर उदात्तादि का मुनित्रय-सम्मत मूल स्वरूप प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है। पहले हम पस्पशाह्निक से ही आरम्भ करते हैं। व्याकरण के प्रयोजन बताते हुए भाष्यकार 'चत्वारि शृङ्गा' मन्त्र प्रस्तुत करते हैं -

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्या आविवेश।।[२]

यहाँ 'त्रिधा बद्धः' की व्याख्या करते हुए भाष्यकार कहते हैं- 'त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति'।[३] इसका वास्तविक अभिप्राय यह है कि शब्दरूप वृषभ उर, कंण्ठ और सिर इन तीन स्थानों पर बंधा हुआ है। इन तीन स्थानों पर बंधा होने का भाव यह है कि यह अनुदात्त, स्वरित व उदात्त इन तीन स्वरों से युक्त है, जो प्रातिशाख्य व शिक्षाग्रन्थों में प्रसिद्ध रीती के अनुसार मन्द, मध्य व तीव्र रूप में नाभितल से होनेवाले त्रिविध प्रयत्न द्वारा उत्थापित प्राणवायु से उक्त तीन स्वरस्थानों में निष्पन्न होते हैं। त्रैस्वर्य शब्द की एक बडी विशेषता है, जिसे यहाँ मन्त्र द्वारा बताना अभीष्ट है। यही तथ्य महाकवि कालिदास ने भी 'न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम्'[४] से सूचित किया है। इस प्रकार यहाँ भाष्यकार का यह अभिप्राय स्पष्ट रूप से प्रकट हो रहा है कि शब्दवृषभ उरः कण्ठ और शिर: इन तीन स्थानों पर बंधा हुआ है अर्थात् इन तीन स्थानों में निष्पन्न होने वाले उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित इन तीन स्वरों से युक्त है।

भाष्यकार के इस वचन से मिलता-जुलता व इसी अभिप्राय को प्रस्तुत करने वाला वाक्य

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हमें उच्चैरुदात्तः, नीचैरनुदात्तः[५] इन सूत्रों के भाष्य में भी मिलता है, जो परम्परागत इस वाक्य से निकटतया सम्बद्ध है -

सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्[६]

(भाष्यम्-) 'सिद्धमेतत्, कथं समाने प्रक्रमे इति वक्तव्यम्। कः पुनः प्रक्रमः? उरः कण्ठः शिर इति'।[७]

यह स्थल स्पष्टतया- 'त्रिधा बद्धः उरसि कण्ठे शिरसी'ति इस कथन की ओर सङ्केत करता हुआ दिखाई देता है। इस प्रकार यह सर्वथा निर्भ्रान्त रूप से स्पष्ट है कि जिन तीन स्थानों पर शब्दवृषभ को बंधा हुआ बताया है वे उच्चैरुदात्तः, नीचैरनुदात्तः सूत्रभाष्य में निर्दिष्ट तीन प्रक्रम ही हैं- उरःप्रक्रम, कण्ठप्रक्रम व शिरःप्रक्रम। यहां हमें प्रक्रम शब्द का अर्थ समझ लेना चाहिए- प्रारम्भः क्रमस्य प्रक्रमः, जैसे- प्रारम्भो दोषायाः प्रदोषः (दोषा = रात्रि का प्रारम्भ प्रदोष सायंकाल/रात्र्यारम्भकाल) उसी प्रकार उच्चारण केलिए क्रम का (प्रयत्न का) जो प्रारम्भ है, वह प्रक्रम है। वह अपने वेग से भाष्य में सूचित किया गया है।

प्रक्रम शब्द आरम्भ अर्थ में प्रसिद्ध है, अमरकोश में भी इसका यही अर्थ दिया है- 'प्रक्रमः स्यादुपक्रमः स्यादभ्यादानमुद्घात आरम्भः।'[८] यह इसका रूढ अर्थ है। प्रस्तुत प्रसङ्ग में केवल प्रारम्भ अर्थ नहीं है, प्रत्युत क्रम (प्रयत्न) का प्रारम्भ प्रक्रम हैं, ऐसा समझना चाहिए। इस प्रकार प्रक्रम शब्द में प्रादिसमास जानना चाहिए।

यह प्रक्रम व विवक्षा के आधार पर बनता है। ऐसी विवक्षा होगी वैसा ही प्रक्रम होगा, यदि जोर से बोलने की इच्छा होगी तो शिरःप्रक्रम होगा, बिना जोर लगाए धीरे से बोलने की इच्छा होगी तो उरःप्रक्रम होगा। मध्यम स्वर से बोलने की इच्छा होगी तो कण्ठप्रक्रम होगा। इस प्रकार त्रिविध प्रक्रम विवक्षा पर निर्भर है। 'आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थ्यार्थान् मनो युंक्ते विवक्षया'[९] इत्यादि श्लोकों में भी इसी आशय का कथन है।

इस प्रकार जैसी विवक्षा होगी, उसी के अनुरूप नाभितल से जो वायूत्थानरूप क्रम (प्रयत्न) का मन्द, मध्य या तीव्र रूप में आरम्भ होता है, वह प्रक्रम है। वह अपने वेग के उरः कण्ठः व शिरः इस त्रिविध स्थान पर पर्यवसित होने के कारण भाष्योक्त त्रिविध प्रक्रम के रूप में ज्ञातव्य है। प्रक्रम का यही स्वरूप आपिशलि व पाणिनि की शिक्षा में स्पष्ट रूप से बताया गया है-

स्थानमिदं करणमिदं प्रयत्न एष द्विधानिलः।
स्थानं पीडयति वृत्तिकारः प्रक्रम एषोऽथ नाभितलात्।।[१०]

इसका भाव यह है कि- स्थान, करण, द्विविध प्रयत्न, स्थानपीडन व वृत्तिकार प्रकरण के साथ नाभितल से होने वाला यह प्रक्रम शिक्षाग्रन्थ का अन्तिम (सप्तम) प्रकरण है। इसी प्रकरण में नाभितल से वायु के उत्थानरूप यत्नविशेष (प्रक्रम) से पाणिनि व आपिशलि ने त्रिविध स्वर की निष्पत्ति इस प्रकार बताई है-

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तत्र यदा सर्वाङ्गानुसारी प्रयत्नस्तीव्रो भवति तदा गात्रणां निग्रहः कण्ठबिलस्य चाल्पत्वं स्वरस्य च वायोस्तीव्रगतित्वात् रौक्ष्यं भवति, तमुदात्तमाचक्षते। यदा मन्दः प्रयत्नो भवति तदा गात्रणां प्रसन्नत्वं कण्ठबिलस्य च महत्त्वं स्वरस्य च वायोर्मन्दगतित्वात् स्निग्धता भवति तमनुदात्तमाचक्षते। उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितसन्निकर्षात् स्वरित इति।[११]

इस उद्धरण से स्पष्ट है कि प्रक्रम प्रकरण में वायु द्वारा निष्पन्न अन्य बाह्य प्रयत्नों के साथ उदात्त, अनुदात्त, स्वरित का लक्षण वा स्वरूप मुख्यरूप से बताया है, तथा इसी के साथ उपसंहार करते हुए प्रकरण समाप्त किया है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि भाष्यकार, वार्तिककार व सूत्रकार, इन तीनों मुनियों की दृष्टि में त्रिविध प्रक्रम से उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित ये तीन स्वर निष्पन्न होतें हैं। यहाँ उच्चारण स्थानों के उर्ध्वाधोभाग में स्वरनिष्पत्ति वाली कल्पना का लेशमात्र भीं निर्देश नहीं है। यदि यह कल्पना तथ्यपूर्ण होती तो विस्तारपूर्वक स्वरस्वरूप बताने वाली शिक्षा की उक्त पंक्तियों में क्या आचार्य इसका निर्देश नहीं कर सकते थे? इससे उक्त कल्पना की निःसारता व हेयता स्पष्ट है।

हम यहाँ पूर्वोद्धृत- 'स्थानमिदं करणमिदं' - श्लोक का अर्थ भी प्रसङ्गतः स्पष्ट करना चाहते हैं। इसका अर्थ है कि प्रस्तुत शिक्षा वेदाङ्ग में - स्थान, करण, आभ्यन्तर प्रयत्न, बाह्य प्रयत्न, स्थानपीडन व वृत्तिकार इन छः प्रकरणों के साथ सातवाँ प्रक्रम प्रकरण है। श्लोक के अन्तिम चरण- 'प्रक्रम एषोऽथ नाभितलात्' का अन्वय यही है- 'और नाभितल से होने वाला यह प्रक्रम शिक्षाग्रन्थ का सप्तम प्रकरण है'।

इस श्लोक के चतुर्थ चरण के अर्थ में अब तक हुई एक महती भ्रान्ति की ओर सङ्केत करना यहाँ सर्वथा प्रासङ्गिक है। भ्रान्ति यह है कि अन्तिम चरण का अर्थ इस प्रकार किया जाता है - प्रक्रम और नाभितल से होने वाला वायु का उत्थान, इस प्रकार प्रक्रम के बाद एक और प्रकरण गिना है एवं प्रकरणों की संख्या आठ कर दी है। वस्तुतः- 'प्रक्रम एषोऽथ नाभितलात्' का वास्तविक भाव यही है कि- और नाभितल से होने वाला यह प्रक्रम शिक्षा का सातवाँ प्रकरण है। क्योंकि प्रक्रम को अलग करने पर एषोऽथ नाभितलात् का कोई अर्थ नहीं लगता और यह वाक्य साकांक्ष ही रह जाता है। प्रक्रम को साथ जोडने पर ही यह निराकांक्ष किंवा पूर्ण बन पाता है। आपिशलि व पाणिनि की शिक्षा के अन्तिम प्रकरण में त्रैस्वर्य के निष्पादक इस प्रक्रम का ही मुख्यतया वर्णन है। शिक्षा का यही प्रक्रम भाष्य में- 'सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्' (वार्तिक-१.२.२९-३०) की व्याख्या में निर्दिष्ट है।

इस प्रकार नाभितल से होने वाला प्रक्रम शिक्षा के अन्तिम व सातवें प्रकरण का मुख्य प्रतिपाद्य है। अतः अन्तिम प्रकरण प्रक्रम-प्रकरण जानना चाहिए। इसके विपरीत आठ प्रकरण गिनने वाले कुछ विद्वानों ने आठवें प्रकरण को नाभितल प्रकरण नाम से लिखा है। यह सब विसङ्गतिपूर्ण है। इस विषय में हमने एक स्वतन्त्र लेख लिखा है, जो शीघ्र ही प्रकाशित किया जाएगा।

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जैसा पहले कहा जा चुका है कि- यह प्रक्रम विवक्षा के आधार पर नाभितल से प्राणवायूत्थानरूप यत्नविशेष होता है। अतः शिक्षा के इस प्रकरण के आरम्भ में ही प्रकरणान्त में वर्णित किए जाने वाले आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि लक्षण वाले प्रक्रम की भूमिका के रूप में वायु के उत्थान की ही चर्चा करते हुए शिक्षाकार स्वयं कहते हैं- तत्र नाभिप्रदेशात् प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुः[१२]... नाभितल से प्रयत्नप्रेरित यह प्राणवायु किस प्रकार उदात्त अनुदात्त व स्वरित इन तीन स्वरों को निष्पन्न करता है, यह प्रकरणान्त-गत निम्न वाक्य में स्पष्ट किया है-

तत्र यदा सर्वाङ्गानुसारी प्रयत्नस्तीव्रो भवति तदा गात्रणां निग्रहः कण्ठबिलस्य चाल्पत्वं स्वरस्य च वायोस्तीव्रगतित्वाद् रौक्ष्यं भवति, तमुदात्तमाचक्षते।[१३] यही शिरःप्रक्रम है। यहाँ नाभिप्रदेश से तीव्र प्रयत्न से प्रेरित वायु शिर (मूर्धा) पर्यन्त तेजी से जाता हुआ इस उदात्त स्वर को बनाता है। आगे शिक्षाकार अनुदात्त का स्वरूप दिखाते हैं, जिसे उरःप्रक्रम निष्पन्न करता है- यदा मन्दः प्रयत्नो भवति तदा गात्रणां प्रसन्नत्वं कण्ठबिलस्य च महत्त्वं स्वरस्य च वायोर्मन्दगतित्वात् स्निग्धता भवति तमनुदात्तमाचक्षते।[१४] यह उरःप्रक्रम है। यहाँ मन्दप्रयत्न-पूर्वक प्रेरित वायु उरः (छाती) तक ही अपना वेग रख पाता है, अतः यह उरःप्रक्रम है। यही अनुदात्त स्वर को निष्पन्न करता है।

शिरः और उरः के बीच में कण्ठ है। जब मध्यमप्रयत्न- प्रेरित प्राणवायु नाभितल से उठकर कण्ठ तक अपना वेग रख पाता है तब यह कण्ठप्रक्रम होता है। यही स्वरित स्वर को निष्पन्न करता है। इसी के लिए शिक्षाकार कहते हैं- उदात्तानुदात्तसन्निकर्षात् स्वरित इति।[१५]

श्लोकात्मिका पाणिनीय शिक्षा में ये तीन प्रक्रम तीन सवनों के रूप में वर्णित हैं-

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थ्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया।
मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम्।।
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम्।
प्रातस्सवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम्।।
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभनुगम्।
तारं तार्ता यसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम्।।[१६]

यहाँ स्पष्टतः पूर्वोक्त तीनों प्रक्रमों का ही प्रकारान्तर से वर्णन करते हुए बताया गया हैं कि ये मन्द्र, मध्य एवं तार स्वरों को किंवा अनुदात्त स्वरित व उदात्त स्वरों को निष्पन्न करते हैं। इसी शिक्षा में आगे इन तीन सवनों का स्पष्टीकरण करते हुए कहा है-

प्रातः पठेन्नित्यमुरःस्थितेन स्वरेण शार्दूलरुतोपमेन।
मध्यन्दिने कण्ठगतेन चैव चक्राह्वसङ्कूजितसन्निभेन।।
तारं तु विद्यात् सवनं तृतीयं शिरोगतं तच्च सदा प्रयोज्यम्।
मयूरहंसाम्बुभृतस्वराणां तुल्येन नादेन शिरःस्थितेन।।[१७]

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संस्कृत-वाङ्मय ते परिचायक प्रपञ्चहृदय नामक प्राचीन ग्रन्थ में भी ऐसा ही भाव प्रकारान्तर से सूचित किया है, जिससे स्पष्ट होता है कि नाभितल से होने वाले त्रिविध प्रक्रम से ही उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित स्वर बनते हैं-

तथा स्वरः प्राणप्रयत्नजनितः स्वरवर्णाश्रयो वायवीयः। स तूदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितभेदेन त्रिविधः। तत्कारणमपि भगवता प्रदर्शितम्-

उच्चैरुन्मार्गगो वायुरुदात्तं कुरुते स्वरम्।
नीचैर्गतोऽनुदात्तञ्च स्वरितं तिर्यग्गतस्तथा।।

तद्विकाराः निषादगान्धारादयः सप्त स्वराः। तत्रोदात्ते निषादगान्धारौ। अनुदात्ते धैवतर्षभौ। स्वरिते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः।[१८]

यहाँ प्रपञ्चहृदयकार ने उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित इन तीन स्वरों की शिक्षोक्त प्राणप्रयत्नजनितता व प्राणप्रयत्न से उरः कण्ठः व शिरः इन तीन स्वरस्थानों में इनकी निष्पत्ति इतने स्पष्ट शब्दों में बतायी है कि सन्देह का कोई अवसर ही नहीं रहता। उक्त कथन से पाणिनि के उच्चैरुदात्तः सूत्र के यथाश्रुत अर्थ की पुष्टि हो रही है। 'भाष्य में सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्। कः पुनः प्रक्रमः? उरः कण्ठः शिर इति'[१९] द्वारा कात्यायन व पतञ्जलि भी इसी तथ्य की पुष्टि कर रहे हैं।

यहाँ महाभाष्यकार का मन्तव्य विस्तार से दिखाना अपेक्षित है। महाभाष्यकार उच्चैरुदात्तः सूत्र में ऊँचे से बोलना उदात्त होता है, इस अर्थ को मानते हुए इसमें आने वाली एक मुख्य विप्रतिपत्ति पहले दिखाते हैं और आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि लक्षण से उसका निवारण कर देते हैं। तदनन्तर उक्त लक्षण से बने उच्चैः में अल्पप्राण व महाप्राण का उदाहरण देकर फिर एक अनैकान्तिकता प्रस्तुत करते हैं तथा इस अनैकान्तिकता का- अल्पप्राण व महाप्राण के प्रक्रम के समान होने पर बने उच्चैस्त्व को इस अनैकान्तिकता से मुक्त बताकर आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि से बने उच्चैः को व्यवस्थित व उदात्तसंज्ञाभाक् रूप में सिद्ध मानते हैं। हम यहाँ भाष्य का वह पूरा उद्धरण प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं-

उच्चनीचस्यानवस्थितत्वात्संज्ञाऽप्रसिद्धिः (वार्तिकम्)

इदमुच्चनीचमनवस्थितपदार्थकम्, तदेव हि कञ्चित् प्रत्युच्चैर्भवति कञ्चित्प्रति नीचैः। एवं हि कश्चित् कञ्चिदधीयानमाह- किमुच्चै रोरूयसे शनैर्वर्ततामिति। तमेव तथाऽधीयानमपर आह- किमन्तर्दन्तकेनाधीषे उच्चैर्वर्ततामिति। एवमुच्चनीचमनवस्थितपदार्थकम्, तस्यानवस्थितत्वात्संज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः। एवं तर्हि लक्षणं करिष्यते- आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येति उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य। आयामो गात्रणां निग्रहः। दारुण्यं स्वरस्य दारुणता रूक्षता। अणुता खस्य कण्ठस्य संवृतता। उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य।।

अन्ववसर्गो मार्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य। अन्ववसर्गो गात्रणां शिथिलता। मार्दवं स्वरस्य मृदुता स्निग्धता। उरुता खस्य। महत्ता कण्ठस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य।।

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एतदप्यनैकान्तिकम् यद्ध्यल्पप्राणस्य सर्वोच्चैस्तद्धि महाप्राणस्य सर्वनीचैः।। सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात् (वार्तिकम्)।। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्? समानप्रक्रमवचनात्। समाने प्रक्रमे इति वक्तव्यम्। कः पुनः प्रक्रमः? उरः कण्ठः शिर इति।[20]

भाष्यकार कहते हैं कि उच्चैरुदात्तः नीचैरनुदात्तः में कहा उच्च, नीच स्वर अव्यवस्थित, किसी मानदण्ड से अनियन्त्रित है। अतः उच्च स्वर उदात्त संज्ञा वाला होता है, इस प्रकार उदात्त संज्ञा नहीं बन पाएगी। इसी प्रकार नीच स्वर अनुदात्त संज्ञक होता है, यह अनुदात संज्ञा भी नहीं बन पाएगी, क्योंकि उच्च, नीच ये दोनों ही अनिष्ठित हैं, अव्यवस्थित हैं। यहाँ व्यवस्था शब्द का अर्थ सीमा या अवधिनियम है। इतने बिन्दु की ऊँचाईवाला स्वर उच्चैः माना जाएगा तथा इतने बिन्दु की निम्नता वाला नीचैः माना जाएगा, यह व्यवस्था (वि-अवस्था सीमितता, फिक्सेशन) नहीं है। अतः जो एक को ऊँचा लगता है, उसे दूसरा नीचा मानता है, तथा जो किसी एक को नीचा लगता है उसे दूसरा ऊँचा मानता है। इस प्रकार यह उच्च, नीच अव्यवस्थित है, अतः उदात्त, अनुदात्त संज्ञा सिद्ध नहीं हो सकती।

इस समस्या का समाधान करते हुए भाष्यकार कहते हैं कि इस अव्यवस्थितता को दूर करने के लिए लक्षण कर देंगे कि- आयाम (अङ्गों का सङ्कोच/खिंचाव) दारुण्य (स्वर की कर्कशता) व कण्ठ की अणुता (सङ्कुचितता) से होने वाला स्वर उच्चैः माना जाएगा और वही उदात्त होगा। इसी प्रकार नीचैः का भी व्यवस्थितत्व इस लक्षण से कर देंगे कि- गात्रें का अन्ववसर्ग (शैथिल्य) स्वर का मार्दव (मृदुत्व) व कण्ठ की उरुता (खुलापन) से होने वाला निम्न स्वर ही नीचैः माना जाएगा, वही अनुदात्त होगा। तैत्तिरीयप्रातिशाख्य से उद्धृत यह लक्षण भाष्यकार द्वारा पूर्णतया स्वीकृत है। पुरातन वैदिक परम्परा से प्राप्त यह सर्वमान्य लक्षण प्रातिशाख्यकारों वैदिकों पाणिनि व कात्यायन को भी अन्तिग रूप से स्वीकार है। भाष्यकार यहाँ इसी की पुष्टि कर रहे हैं।

यहाँ यह स्पष्ट रूप से समझ लेना चाहिए कि आयाम आदि कारण हैं और उच्चैस्त्व इनका कार्य है। अत एव स्फुटतया इन्हें उच्चैः कराणि कहा है। इनसे हुआ यह उच्चैस्त्व सर्वथा व्यवस्थित है। इस प्रकार यहाँ भाष्यकार ने उच्चैः नीचैः का अव्यवस्थितपदार्थकत्व निरस्त कर उन्हें सिद्धान्ततः मान्य रूप में प्रस्तुत कर दिया है।

अब भाष्यकार इसमें भी आपाततः प्रतीयमान एक व्यभिचार को प्रस्तुत कर समान प्रक्रम के आधार पर उसका निराकरण कर इसी उच्चैस्त्व नीचैस्त्व को समर्थित करते हुए कहते हैं कि यह उच्चैस्त्व नीचस्त्व अनैकान्तिक नहीं, अपि तु सिद्ध है और यही उच्चैः नीचैः उदात्त व अनुदात्त होता है। भाष्यकार ने आपाततः प्रतीयमान इस व्यभिचार का उपस्थापन व निराकरण इस प्रकार किया है-

आयाम आदि से किया उच्चैस्त्व भी अनैकान्तिक (अनिष्ठित) है- हम एक अल्पप्राण (दुर्बल) व्यक्ति द्वारा उदात्त के उदाहरणभूत ये के ते का आयामादिपूर्वक ऊँचे से उच्चारण करवाते हैं। यह इतना उच्चैस्त्व आपकी दृष्टि में उदात्त है। इतना ही उच्चैस्त्व महाप्राण

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(बलवान) व्यक्ति बिना आयामादि के कर देता है। अब आपको दुर्बल के आयामादि से कृत उच्चैस्त्व के बराबर महाप्राण द्वारा बिना आयामादि के किया उच्चैस्त्व मिल गया। इसे भी उदात्त मानना पडेगा, जबकि इसमें आयामादि किया हि नहीं गया। और यह आपके द्वारा प्रस्तुत उच्चैस्त्व जितना ही है। इस प्रकार आयामाजिकृत उच्चैस्त्व इस उदाहरण में व्यभिचरित हो गया। अतः अनैकान्तिक (अव्यवस्थित) ही रहा।

इसका समाधान करते हुए भाष्यकार कात्यायनीय वार्त्तिक प्रस्तुत कर कहते हैं कि- 'सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्'। उच्चैस्त्व का आयामादि वाला पूर्वोक्त लक्षण ही सिद्ध है और इससे बने उच्चैः स्वर की ही उदात्त संज्ञा भी सिद्ध है- समान प्रक्रम होने पर- ऐसा सूत्र के साथ कहने से। अर्थात् अल्पप्राण व महाप्राण, इन दोनों के प्रक्रम के समान होने पर इनका जो उच्चैः स्वर होगा वही उदात्तसंज्ञक होगा। पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट व्यभिचारस्थल में महाप्राण का प्रक्रम अल्पप्राण के समान नहीं था, इसलिए व्यभिचार या अनैकान्तिकता उपस्थित हुई। यदि वहाँ महाप्राण भी दुर्बल के समान आयामादि करके उच्चैः उच्चारण करता तो दोनों का स्वर उच्चैः माना जाता व उदात्तसंज्ञक होता, भले ही दोनों के श्रवणगोचर उच्चैस्त्व में कितना भी अन्तर होता। इससे स्पष्ट हुआ कि यदि दुर्बल व प्रबल का प्रक्रम समान हो तो ऐसा होने पर जो उच्चैस्त्व होगा वही लक्षणानुसारी उच्चैस्त्व है, वही उदात्त होगा। यही उच्चैरुदात्तः का भाव है। दुर्बल व प्रबल, इन दोनों के एक जैसे आयामादि से निष्पन्न इस उच्चैस्त्व की श्रवणीयता में भले ही अन्तर हो, उसकी कोई चिन्ता नहीं। इस रीति से अनैकान्तिकता नहीं रही।

इस प्रकार- समानप्रक्रमवचनात्, समाने प्रक्रमे (सति) इति वक्तव्यम् यह बात जोडकर पूर्वलक्षण को ही समर्थित किया है, यह भाष्य की शब्दावली से सर्वथा सुव्यक्त है।

भाष्य के प्रायः सभी आधुनिक व्याख्याकार यहीं भटक गए हैं। भाष्यकार ने तो समान प्रक्रम वाली बात हो पूर्व लक्षण के साथ जोडकर उसीका समर्थन किया है, पर ये लोग उस लक्षण को भी अव्यवस्थित समझ कर 'यह उसके विरुद्ध नया समाधान है' ऐसी व्याख्या करते हैं तथा कहते हैं कि भाष्य में आयामादिकृत उच्चैस्त्वलक्षण को अमान्य कर यह उच्चैस्त्व का नया लक्षण बनाया है। वे कहते हैं यहाँ प्रक्रम का अर्थ ताल्वादि वर्णोच्चारणस्थान हैं, उनमें क्रमशः ऊर्ध्व अधः व मध्य भागों में निष्पन्न स्वर क्रमशः उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित होते हैं। इस प्रकार की व्याख्या करने वाले आधुनिक भाष्य-व्याख्याता एतत्स्थलगत भाष्य की पंक्तियों का स्वारस्य तो समझे ही नहीं, प्रत्युत कुछ त्रुटियां भी कर बैठे। एक तो यह कि शिक्षादि में प्रसिद्ध नाभितल से प्राणवायूत्थान रूप प्रक्रम न समझ कर उसे यौगिकतया व्याख्यात करते हुए वर्णोच्चारणस्थान का वाचक मान बैठे, जो सङ्गत नहीं है। क्योंकि यह शब्द शिक्षानिर्दिष्ट अर्थ में प्रसिद्ध है, और रूढियोगापहारिणी यह सर्वतन्त्रसम्मत मन्तव्य है। दूसरी त्रुटि यह है कि प्रक्रमे में विद्यमान सति सप्तमी को आधार सप्तमी मान लिया, जबकि भाष्यगत स्वारस्य से यहाँ- समाने प्रक्रमे सति यह अर्थ स्पष्टतया प्रकट हो रहा है तथा

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प्रसङ्गानुकूल भी यही है कि-'अल्पप्राण व महाप्राण का प्रक्रम समान होने पर उक्त व्यभिचार न होने से पूर्वोक्त लक्षण ही सिद्ध है।'

यहाँ यदि हम आधुनिक व्याख्याकारों की उक्त व्याख्या मान लें तो भाष्यकार, तैत्तिरीय-प्रातिशाख्य-प्रोक्त- 'आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येति उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य। अन्ववसर्गो मार्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य'[२१] इस लक्षण के प्रत्याख्याता होकर ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता वाले मत के प्रतिपादक बने दिखाई देते हैं। इन व्याख्याताओं की व्याख्याएं पढकर आधुनिक विद्वान व अध्येता भाष्यकार को स्वरविषयक प्रातिशाख्यमत का विरोधी ही मानते हैं। इससे पाठक के सामने एक विकट सङ्कट प्रकट हो जाता है कि जिससे वह न तो पतञ्जलि के मत का विरोध कर पाता है और दुविधाग्रस्त हुआ न ही प्रातिशाख्य के मत को अपना सकता है। इस प्रकार एक विचित्र उलझन में उलझ कर रह जाता है। इसके लिए हम प्रसिद्ध आधुनिक वैदिक विद्वान् प्रो. ब्रजबिहारी चौबे (होशियारपुर, पञ्जाब) का उदाहरण ले सकते हैं। वे इस सन्देहदोला की अभिव्यक्ति किस प्रकार करते हैं, यह उन्हीं के शब्दों में देखिए-

'उदात्त- उदात्त को उच्च स्वर माना जाता है। पाणिनि ने उच्चैरुदात्तः (पा.१.२.२९), इस सूत्र के द्वारा उदात्त के उच्चारण का विधान किया है। तैत्तिरीय प्रातिशाख्य के अनुसार गात्रों की दीर्घता, स्वर की कठिनता तथा कण्ठविवर की संवृतता ही शब्द या वर्ण के उच्च अर्थात् उदात्त के उच्चारण का कारण होती है। (आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येति उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य- तै.प्रा.२२.९) कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि उदात्त स्वर के उच्चारण में गात्रों को ऊपर खींचा जाता है, ध्वनि को कठोर बनाया जाता हे तथा कण्ठ को दबाकर उच्चारण किया जाता है। महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि को उदात्त स्वर के ये लक्षण स्वीकार्य नहीं। जो लोग उदात्त का उच्च स्वर में उच्चारण करना स्वीकार करते हैं, उनके विरुद्ध महाभाष्यकार का कहना है कि यह उच्च स्वर अनवस्थित है। एक ही स्वर किसी के लिए उच्च हो सकता है और किसी के लिए नीच हो सकता है। इसलिए जो स्वर किसी के लिए नीच कै, उसको उच्च कैसे कहा जा सकता है? अगर वह उच्च है, तो उसका उच्चत्व सबके लिए और सदा के लिए होना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार तैत्तिरीय प्रातिशाख्य के मत को महाभाष्यकार ने अनैकान्तिक माना है। एक कमजोर व्यक्ति जिस ध्वनि का बहुत परिश्रमपूर्वक उच्चारण करता है, उसी ध्वनि का उच्चारण एक बलवान व्यक्ति बहुत सरलता से करता है। महाभाष्यकार का अपना मत है कि पाणिनि ने उच्चैरुदात्तः के द्वारा उदात्त के उच्चारण की जो व्यवस्था दी है, उसका अभिप्राय यह है कि वर्णों के उच्चारण-स्थान के उच्चभाग से जब उच्चारण होता है तो वह उदात्त होता है। वार्तिककार तथा भाष्यकार द्वारा दी गई उदात्त-उच्चारण की इस व्यवस्था को यद्यपि को यद्यपि परवर्ती वैयाकरणों ने स्वीकार किया है, किन्तु इसकी स्पष्टता में संबको सन्देह है। वर्णों के उच्चारण-स्थान के ऊर्ध्वभाग से किस प्रकार उच्चारण होता है, यह निष्टित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता'[२२]।

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हमारे विचार से वैदिक विद्वान् तो उक्त उलझन से आसानी से बच सकते हैं क्योंकि मूल वैदिक ग्रन्थों में ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता वाली कल्पना का कहीं लेशमात्र भी उल्लेख नहीं है। परन्तु वैदिक भी क्या करें? जब ये इस प्रसङ्ग में व्याकरण-ग्रन्थों को देखते हैं तो सर्वत्र गड्डलिकाप्रवाहेण प्रातिशाख्यादि- विरोधी स्वरविषयक उक्त काल्पनिक व्याख्यान ही पाते हैं। अतः सन्देहग्रस्त होना सहज ही है। आज इस व्याख्यान के संशोधन की महती आवश्यकता है। हमारा यह प्रयास इसी के लिए है।

हमारे द्वारा उपर्युक्त रीति से उक्तस्थलगत भाष्यपंक्तियों की व्याख्या करने से भाष्यकार यहाँ कात्यायन व पाणिनि का एवं प्रातिशाख्यगत वैदिकों के परम्परागत मत का समर्थन करते हुए दिखते हैं। इससे उक्त सन्देह निर्मूल हो जाता है। यदि ध्यान से भाष्यपंक्तियों को देखा जाए तो भी हम इस भ्रान्ति से बच सकते हैं, परन्तु यहाँ अध्येताओं पर कैयटादि की दृष्टि इतनी प्रभावी है कि वे उसी से अभिभूत होकर भाष्य को देखते व समझते हैं तथा उसे प्रातिशाख्यमत का विरोधी मान बैठते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम्[२३] सूत्र पर भाष्यकार का- ऊर्ध्वमात्रमिति चात्र उदात्तम्[२४] कथन भी उदात्त के पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट प्रक्रमानुसारी श्रुतिप्रकर्ष को ही सङ्केतित कर रहा है। प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे[२५] दूराद्धूते च[२६] इत्यादि सूत्रों में जो वाक्य के टिभाग को प्लुत उदात्त किया है, वह भी उदात्त स्वर के श्रवणगत उच्चैस्त्व को सूचित कर रहा है। इन सूत्रों के उदाहरणों में इस प्रकार का श्रुतिप्रकर्ष व्यवहार में स्पष्टतया दिखाई देता है।

आजकल यदा-कदा किए जाने वाले सोमयाग में वैदिकों को जब हम उच्चैरुदात्तः के उदाहरण- ये के ते का उच्चारण करते हुए देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि वे प्रायः चिल्लाते हुए से इन्हें बोलते हैं तथा उच्चारणकर्त्ता में आयाम दारुण्य व कण्ठ की अणुता स्पष्टतया अनुभवगोचर होती है। वैदिकों की परम्परा में सुरक्षित यह उच्चारण मुनित्रयसम्मत रूप में आज भी देखा जा सकता है। इसलिए प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में उदात्तादि स्वरों को स्फुटतयां श्रवणविषयक बताया है।

इस पूर्वोक्त विवेचन से यह बात सुतराम् स्पष्ट हो गई है कि जोर लगा कर ऊँचे से बोलने पर उदात्त स्वर बनता है तथा बिना जोर लगाए शरीर को ढीला छोडकर बोलने से मन्द्र ध्वनि वाला अनुदात्त स्वर बनता है। एवम् इन दोनों के समाहार से स्वरित स्वर बनता है। कोई भी स्थूलबुद्धि व्यक्ति अथवा सुकुमारमति छात्र भी उदात्त अनुदात्त के इस लक्षण को सरलता से समझ सकता है। पाणिनि, कात्यायन और पतञ्जलि को यही लक्षण अभिप्रेत है, यह तथ्य भाष्य के पूर्वोद्धृत स्थल से सर्वथा निर्भ्रान्त रूप में प्रकट हो रहा है।

परन्तु उक्त आर्ष वचनों की व्याख्या के प्रसङ्ग में प्रक्रम का वास्तविक अर्थ न समझकर कैयट व उनके अनुगामी नागेशादि सभी आधुनिक भाष्य-व्याख्याताओं ने ताल्वादि वर्णोच्चारण-स्थानों को प्रक्रम माना हे।

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इसके विपरीत भाष्य-सम्मत प्रक्रम का स्वरूप प्राचीन शिक्षाग्रन्थों में स्पष्ट रूप से निर्दिष्ट है। हम यहाँ अनेक शिक्षाकारों के उद्धरण प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं, जिनसे उक्त मन्तव्य सर्वथा उपोद्बलित होता दिखाई देता है। श्लोकात्मिका पाणिनीय शिक्षा से इस आशय के उद्धरण पहले ही प्रस्तुत किए जा चुके हैं। याज्ञवल्क्य शिक्षा का वचन इस प्रकार है-

स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरित एव च।
स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्य्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम्।।[२७]

यहाँ स्पष्टतया जोर से बोले गए उच्च स्वर को उदात्त व इसके विपरीत नीच (मन्द) स्वर को अनुदात्त कहा है। मुनित्रय-सम्मत प्रक्रम के स्वरूप का समर्थन करने वाला नारदीय-शिक्षा का निम्न उद्धरण विशेष रूप से अवधेय है-

उरः कण्ठः शिरश्चैव स्थानानि त्रीणि वाङ्मये।
सवनान्याहुरेतानि साम्नि चाप्यधरोत्तरे।।[२८]

नारदीय-शिक्षा पर भट्ट यशाभास्कर की टीका भी है। टीकाकार इस श्लोक की अवतरणिका इस प्रकार लिखते हैं- स्वरस्वरूपं त्रिषु स्थानेष्वभिव्यज्यते इत्युच्यते। इसके अनन्तर उक्त श्लोक की टीका भी अवधेय है-

नीचमध्यमोत्तरया उरसि कण्ठे शिरसि चाभिव्यज्यते। उरसि वक्षःस्थाने शब्दोच्चारणं प्रातःसवनमुच्यते। नीचैरुच्चारितं प्रातःसवन-शब्दस्येत्यर्थः। कण्ठस्थाने मध्यमेन स्वरेणोच्चारणं माध्यन्दिनं सवनम्। शिरोलक्षणे स्थाने उच्चैरभिव्यज्यमानं शब्दजातं तृतीयसवनम्।[२९]

नाट्यशास्त्र में भरतमुनि भी ऐसा ही कहते हैं-

शारीरं मन्द्रसम्भूतं छन्दो गायत्रसंज्ञितम्।
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनं प्रोक्तं त्रैष्टुभं परिकीर्त्यते।
तृतीयसवनं चापि शीर्षण्यं जागतं हि तत्।।[३०]

सङ्गीतशास्त्र में मुनित्रय-सम्मत उक्त तीन प्रक्रम तीन स्वरस्थानों के रूप में सुतराम् प्रसिद्ध हैं। सङ्गीत के सात स्वर क्योंकि उदात्त-अनुदात्त-स्वरितं से ही बनते हैं, अतः सङ्गीतशास्त्री अपने ग्रन्थों में पहले इन तीन स्वरस्थानों का वर्णन करते हैं। यहाँ कुछ सङ्गीतशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों के उद्धरण प्रस्तुत हैं-

व्यवहारे त्वसौ नादः प्रोच्यते त्रिविधो बुधैः।
मन्द्रो हृदि स्थितः कण्ठे मध्यस्तारस्तु मूर्द्धनि।।
द्विगुणः किल मानेन पूर्वस्मादुत्तरोत्तरः।।[३१]
त्रीणि स्थानानि हृत्कण्ठशिरांसीति समासतः।
एकैकमपि तेषु स्याद् द्वाविंशतिविधायुतम्।।

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द्वाविंशतिविधो मन्द्रो ध्वनिः सञ्जायते हृदि।
यथोत्तरमसौ नादो वीणायामधरोत्तरम्।।
स एव द्विगुणो मध्यात्कण्ठस्थाने यथाक्रमम्।
स एव मस्तके तारः स्यान्मध्याद् द्विगुणः क्रमात्।।
इति स्वरगता ज्ञेयाः श्रुतयः स्वरवेदिभिः।
अन्तरस्वरवर्तिन्यो ह्यन्तरश्रुतयो मताः।।[३२]

शिक्षाकार भी सात स्वरों की त्रैस्वर्यमूलकता का निर्देश स्फुटतया करते हैं, जैसा कि याज्ञवल्क्य-शिक्षा में कहते हैं-

गान्धर्ववेदे ये प्रोक्ताः सप्त षड्जादयः स्वराः।
त एव वेदे विज्ञेयास्त्रय उच्चादय स्वराः।।
उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभधैवतौ।
शेषास्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेयाः षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः।।[३३]

यह है तीन प्रक्रमों अथवा तीन स्वरस्थानों की मुनिपरम्परा से प्राप्त, शिक्षाकारों द्वारा सम्मत व सङ्गीतशास्त्रियों द्वारा समर्थित वास्तविक प्राचीन मान्यता। इसकी ओर ध्यान न देकर इसके विपरीत कैयट आदि विद्वान् उच्चैरुदात्तः-नीचैरनुदात्तः सूत्रभाष्य में निर्दिष्ट प्रक्रम का अर्थ वर्णोच्चारण-स्थान मानते हैं-

'सिद्धं त्विति। प्रक्रम्यन्तेऽस्मिन्वर्णा इति प्रक्रमः स्थानमुच्यते, तेनायमर्थः- एकस्मिंस्ताल्वादिके स्थाने ऊर्ध्वभागेनोच्चार्यमाण उदात्तः, अधरभागनिष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तः। एवं चोच्चैरित्यनेनोर्ध्वभागो गृह्यते नीचैरित्यधरभागः। अभ्यास-समधिगम्यष्टायं स्वरविशेषः षड्जादिवद्विज्ञेयः।'[३४]

इसी स्थल पर प्रदीपानुसारी उद्योत भी द्रष्टव्य है- 'प्रक्रम्यन्त इति। अधिकरणे घञि नोदात्तोपदेशस्येति वृद्धिप्रतिषेधः ऊर्ध्वभागेनेति ऊर्ध्वभागावच्छिन्नवायुसंयोगेनेत्यर्थः। न चेदं पूर्वं कर्त्तव्यमित्याह एवञ्चेति। करणस्य चाधिकरणत्वविवक्षा बोध्या। कस्योर्ध्वभागे इत्याकाङ्क्षायां योग्यताया स्थानस्येति लभ्यत इति भावः। मन्दं प्रति तु वचनमेवावश्यकमिति बोध्यम्। भाष्ये- उरः कण्ठः शिर इति। शिरःपदं ताल्वादीनामुपलक्षणम्।'[३५]

आधुनिक विद्वानों की सभी व्याख्याएं कैयट व नागेश का अनुसरण करने वाली ही हैं। इस श्रेणी में भट्टोजिदीक्षित आदि विद्वानों का बहुत बडा वर्ग है। आधुनिक युग के एक प्रकाण्ड पण्डित विश्वेश्वरसूरि ने भी अपनी वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तसुधानिधि में ऐसा ही अर्थ दिया है।

कैयट और नागेश का व्याख्यान पूर्वपरम्परा से विपरीत जाता है, अतः ग्राह्य नहीं हो सकता। ये विद्वान् ताल्वादि भागयुक्त स्थानों में ऊर्ध्व, अधः और मध्य भाग मानते हैं और इन तीनों स्थानों में निष्पन्न स्वर को उदात्त अनुदात्त व स्वरित मानते हैं। साथ ही ये लोग कहते हैं कि स्वर का यह विषय बडा ही दुर्विज्ञेय है, इसे बहुत अभ्यास और सावधानी से ही ग्रहण किया जा सकता है, यथावत् उच्चारित किया जा सकता है। इनका यह सब व्याख्यान

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भाष्य से सर्वथा विपरीत एवं काल्पनिक है। यहाँ प्रक्रम शब्द में अधिकरण में घञ् मानना एवम् आधार सप्तमी मानना भी भाष्याभिप्राय से विरुद्ध है। यहाँ भाव में घञ् एवं सति सप्तमी है, यह भाष्य के वाक्य-स्वारस्य से स्पष्ट है।

अब यह विचारणीय है कि इन विद्वानों के इस प्रकार के व्यख्यान का मूल आधार क्या है? प्राचीन ग्रन्थ देखने से प्रतीत होता है कि लगभग पाँचवीं शताब्दी के आस-पास रची गई काशिकावृत्ति इस प्रकार का व्याख्यान करने वालों का उपजीव्य है। क्योंकि हमारी दृष्टि में काशिका ही ऐसा प्राचीन ग्रन्थ है जिसमें ताल्वादि उच्चारणस्थानों को ऊर्ध्व अध: एवं मध्य इन तीन भागों में विभक्त मानते हुए ऊर्ध्वभाग-निष्पन्न अच् को उदात्त, अधोभाग-निष्पन्न अच् को अनुदात्त कहा है- उच्चैरिति च श्रुतिप्रकर्षो न गृह्यते- उच्चैर्भाषते उच्चैः पठतीति, किं तर्हि? स्थानकृतमुच्चत्वं संज्ञिनो विशेषणम्। ताल्वादिषु हि भागवत्सु स्थानेषु वर्णा निष्पद्यन्ते, तत्र यः समाने स्थाने ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नोऽच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति।[३६]

परन्तु काशिका में एक विशेष बात यह है कि इस प्रकार के विचित्र सूत्र-व्याख्यान के तुरन्त बाद इस व्याख्यान से विपरीत जाने वाले भाष्य के मन्तव्य को इन शब्दों में उद्धृत किया है- यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामायामः निग्रहो भवति, रूक्षता अस्निग्धता स्वरस्य, संवृतता कण्ठविवरस्य। ये, ते, के।[३७]

अगले सूत्र नीचैरनुदात्तः में भी काशिकाकार का व्याख्यान इसी प्रकार का है- नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति। समाने स्थाने नीचभागे निष्पन्नोऽच् अनुदात्तः। यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामन्ववसर्गः मार्दवं भवति, स्वरस्य मृदुता स्निग्धता, कण्ठविवरस्योरुता महत्ता, त्व-सम-सिम-नेमेत्यनुच्चानि। नमस्ते रुद्र नीलकण्ठ सहस्राक्ष।[३८]

यहाँ यदि काशिकाकार के व्याख्यान को- समाने प्रक्रमे उच्चैरुच्चार्यमाणोऽच् उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति, यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामायामः निग्रहो भवति, रूक्षता अस्निग्धता स्वरस्य, संवृतता कण्ठविवरस्य इस रूप में परिवर्तित कर दिया जाए तभी काशिकाकार द्वारा भाष्य-मन्तव्य को उद्धृत किया जाना सङ्गत है, अन्यथा परस्परविरोधिता बनी ही रहती है। काशिका में इस विसङ्गति को देखते हुए शङ्का होती है कि क्या वस्तुतः काशिका का मूल पाठ यही था? अथवा कालान्तर में वर्त्तमान स्वरूप में बदल दिया गया? न्यास व पदमञ्जरी को देखने से इतना तो स्पष्ट है कि उनके समय तक काशिका का उक्तस्थलगत पाठ ऐसा ही था।

इस विसङ्गति के समाधान का प्रयास करते हुए पदमञ्जरीकार लिखते हैं- 'ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पत्तेरप्रत्यक्षत्वात् तन्निष्टाये लिङ्गमाह- यस्मिन्निति। आयामः इत्यस्य विवरणं निग्रहः। रूक्षतेत्यस्य विवरणं अस्निग्धतेति। संवृततेति अणुता, अत एव वायुः शनैर्निष्क्रामन् गलावयवान् शोषयतीति स्वरस्य रूक्षता भवति।'[३९]

पदमञ्जरीकार का इस प्रकार सङ्गति लगाना गले नहीं उतरता है, क्योंकि यहाँ स्थिति उलटी हो गई है। ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्न अच् में ये स्थितियां बनेंगी, यह समझ में नहीं आता। आयाम दारुण्य आदि को आधार मानकर यदि तदनुसारितया ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता कही

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जाती तो यह काल्पनिक बात सामान्यतया पकड में नहीं आती और धुप्पल में चलती रहती, पर ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नता से आयाम दारुण्य आदि होते हैं, यह सर्वथा अनुभव-विरुद्ध है। इसलिए हमने कहा कि यहाँ उलटी स्थिति हो गई।

इस प्रकार पदमञ्जरी का उक्त कथन भाष्य के विरुद्ध जाता है। भाष्यकार कहते हैं- आयाम दारुण्य से बना उच्च स्वर उदात्त होता है, इसके विपरीत ये कहते हैं- ताल्वादि सभाग स्थानों में ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नता के लिङ्ग आयाम दारुण्य आदि हैं। इस प्रकार उक्त मन्तव्य की भाष्य विरुद्धता स्पष्टतः दिख रही है, साथ में अनुभव-विरुद्धता भी है ही। क्योंकि यह इतनी सरलता से प्रतीत होने वाली बात होती तो काशिकानुसारी इस मन्तव्य को मानने वाले कैयटादि ऐसा क्यों लिखंते- अभ्यास-समधिगम्यायं स्वरविशेषः षड्जादिवद्विज्ञेयः।[४०] जबकि आयामादि की स्थिति को मन्दमति भी सहजता से समझ सकता है।

अनन्तरवर्ती वैयाकरणों की परम्परा में भट्टोजिदीक्षित आदि ने काशिकागत सूत्रवृत्ति के पूर्वभाग को अपने ग्रन्थ में लिया और भाष्य-मन्तव्य वाले आगे के भाग को हटा दिया। वर्त्तमान में सिद्धान्तकौमुद्यनुसारी पठन-पाठन की परम्परा में सम्बद्ध सूत्रों पर- 'ताल्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषूर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नोऽजुदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात्'[४१] इत्यादि वृत्तिभाग ही शेष रहा दिखता है। इन्होंने इस वृत्तिभाग के अनन्तर काशिका के समाने यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामायामः इस भाष्य-मन्तव्य को उद्धृत करना ही प्रायः छोड दिया। नव्य व्याकरण पढने वाला आज का वैयाकरण भट्टोजिदीक्षित की इन्हीं पंक्तियों तक सीमित रह जाता है। वह उक्त भाष्य-मन्तव्य की चर्चा ही नहीं करता। वह निःशङ्क होकर उच्चैरुदात्तः - नीचैरनुदात्तः की कौमुदीनिर्दिष्ट वृत्ति बोलकर सूत्रार्थ की परिपूर्णता मान लेता है। जब उससे पूछा जाता है कि उदात्त का उच्चारण कैसे होता है? तो उसका वैयाकरणखसूचित्व ही प्रकट होता है। यही प्रश्न यदि उक्त परम्परा के अध्यापक से किया जाता है तो वह अधिक से अधिक-अभ्यास-समधिगम्यायं स्वरविशेषः षड्जादिवद्विज्ञेयः इस कैयट वाली बात को कहकर यथाकथञ्चित् पीछा छुडा लेता है। इस प्रकार उक्त वृत्ति ने उदात्तादि स्वरों का स्वरूप दुर्गम, दुर्विज्ञेय व अन्धकारावृत सा बना दिया है। जबकि मुनित्रय के प्रतिपादन के अनुसार यह सर्वजनगम्य है। शिक्षाकारों द्वारा प्रस्तुत उदाहरणों के अनुसार तो इसे पशु-पक्षी भी धडल्ले से प्रस्तुत करते हैं, फिर मनुष्यों की तो बात ही क्या है! तद्यथा-

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभधैवतौ।
शेषास्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेया षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः।।[४२]
षड्जे वदति मयूरो गावो रम्भन्ति चर्षभे।
अजा वदति गान्धारे क्रौञ्चनादस्तु मध्यमे।।
पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलः पञ्चमे स्वरे।
अश्वस्तु धैवते प्राह कुञ्जरस्तु निषादवान्।।[४३]

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अतः सर्वग्राह्य व स्पष्ट उदात्तादि के स्वरूप को भूलभुलैया में डालने वाली उक्त वृत्ति को छोड देना उचित है। हमारे विचार से ताल्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषूर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नोऽजुदात्तसंज्ञः इत्यादि भाष्यविरुद्ध वृत्ति को इन सूत्रों से हटा देना चाहिए तथा उसके स्थान पर भाष्यानुसारितया-अल्पप्राण-महाप्राणयोः समाने प्रक्रमे (सति) उच्चैरुच्चार्यमाणोऽजुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति, यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामायामः निग्रहो भवति, रूक्षता अस्निग्धता स्वरस्य, संवृतता कण्ठविवरस्य।।

अल्पप्राण-महाप्राणयोः समाने प्रक्रमे (सति) नीचैरुच्चार्यमाणोऽजनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति, यस्मिन्नुच्चार्यमाणे गात्रणामन्ववसर्गः मार्दवं भवति, स्वरस्य मृदुता स्निग्धता, कण्ठविवरस्योरुता महत्ता। इस प्रकार की वृत्ति रखनी चाहिए। काशिका में भी ऐसा ही संशोधन अपेक्षित है।

अब रही यह बात कि जो व्यक्ति काशिकाकार-निर्दिष्ट एवं कैयट, नागेश व भट्टोजिदीक्षित आदि द्वारा प्रचारित उक्त प्रकार की वृत्ति पर ही आग्रह रखते हैं, वे भाष्योक्त लक्षणों को उसी का लिङ्ग बताते हैं। हमारी दृष्टि से उनका ऐसा कथन अग्राह्य है, क्योंकि उन द्वारा प्रतिपादित एक-उच्चारणस्थानगत ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता में आयाम दारुण्य आदि का होना असम्भव है। इसलिए इस प्रकार की निष्पन्नता के साथ वे स्वर को दुर्विज्ञेय भी मानते हैं, जबकि आयाम-दारुण्यादि की स्थिति सहजतया सर्वजन संवेद्य है। अतः एक उच्चारणस्थान में ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्न स्वर के लिङ्ग के रूप में आयाम दारुण्य आदि को उन द्वारा प्रस्तुत करना हमें कथमपि स्वीकार्य नहीं। दुर्जनतोष न्याय से उनका आग्रह थोडी देर के लिए मान भी लिया जाए तो भी यह सर्वथा उलटी स्थिति है। मूल लक्षण आयामो दारुण्यम् इत्यादि हैं, उनके होने पर तन्मतानुसारितया कदाचित् ताल्वादि भागवान् स्थानों में ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता जैसी कोई स्थिति बनती हो और वह अप्रत्यक्ष रहती हो एवं अभ्यास-समधिगम्य व दुर्विज्ञेय हो, वक्ता व श्रोता की भी पकड में भी आनी मुश्किल हो, ऐसी उस गौण स्थिति को मुख्य मानकर आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि मूल लक्षणों को उसका अनुगामी मान लेना कैसे उचित है?

यदि उस आग्रह वाले व्यक्ति अपना आग्रह नहीं छोड पाते हैं तो उदात्तादि के भाष्यानुसारी आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि मूल लक्षणों को मानते हुए उनके परिणामस्वरूप ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता को व्याख्यात करना चाहें तो भी उनको मूलवृत्ति में न रखकर आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि के परिणाम के रूप में मान सकते हैं। यह हम उन्हीं के तोष लिए कह रहे हैं, हमें तो यह कथमपि स्वीकार नहीं है। क्योंकि ताल्वादि स्थानों में ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता मूलतः काल्पनिक है। यह उदात्तादि की निष्पत्ति में कोई कारण है ही नहीं।

पहले हमने कहा कि अल्पप्राण व महाप्राण के समान प्रक्रम के साथ आयामो दारुण्यम् आदि को मूल लक्षण के रूप में रखकर वे ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता को अपने तोष के लिए उसके लिङ्ग के रूप में रखना चाहें तो भले ही रक्खें, पर साम्प्रतिक वैयाकरणपरम्परा में तो सर्वथा विपरीत हो गया है। भाष्यानुसारी मूलवृत्ति को हटाकर ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता वाली काल्पनिक वृत्ति ने उसका स्थान ले लिया है। इससे अध्येता व अध्यापक उदात्तादि का वास्तविक स्वरूप न समझकर भ्रान्त हो जाते हैं। जबकि सूत्रकार, वार्तिककार व भाष्यकार

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का आशय सर्वथा स्पष्ट है कि जोर से बोलना उदात्त व धीरे से बोलना अनुदात्त है, जिसे मन्द व्यक्ति भी समझ सकता है और यह लोक में आबालवृद्ध द्वारा प्रयुक्त है।

इस प्रकार भाष्यकार के त्रिधा बद्धः उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति की सही व्याख्या इस लेख के आरम्भ में प्रस्तुत की है, वही ग्राह्य है। इसके विपरीत यहाँ नागेशादि ने भाष्य के मूल आशय के विपरीत उरः कण्ठः शिरः को प्रक्रम रूप में नहीं समझा और वर्णोच्चारणस्थान के रूप में मान लिया-

'भाष्ये- उरसीत्यादि। हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तस्थाभिष्टा संयुतम्। उरस्यं तं विजानीयात्।

स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषाः इत्युक्तेर्मूर्धैव शिरः।। कण्ठ इत्यनेन मुखान्तर्गतकण्ठादि स्थानमुपलक्ष्यते'।।[४४]

जब उन्हें शङ्का हुई कि उच्चारणस्थान तीन नहीं, आठ हैं, अतः त्रिधा बद्धः की जगह अष्टधा बद्धः होना चाहिए था, तो इस शङ्का को दूर करने के लिए उन्होंने एक अन्य कल्पना की कि तीन स्थान अन्य उच्चारणस्थानों के उपलक्षण के रूप में निर्दिष्ट किए हैं। जब उनसे कोई पूछे कि उपलक्षण के लिए तो एक ही पर्याप्त था, तीनों का ग्रहण क्यों किया? तो वे इस कल्पना का सहारा लेते हैं कि मुख के अन्दर ऊपर नीचे व मध्य में विद्यमान स्थानों को सूचित करने के लिए इन तीनों को उपलक्षण के रूप में लिया है।

परन्तु वेदमन्त्र व भाष्यकार पतञ्जलि के मूल आशय को न समझने के कारण भ्रान्त हुए लोगों की ये अस्थानगत क्लिष्ट कल्पनाएं हैं। इनमें कोई सार प्रतीत नहीं होता है, क्योंकि उदात्तादि स्वर वर्णोच्चारणस्थान -जन्य नहीं अपि तु वायु जन्य हैं। नाभितल से प्रक्रान्त वायु ही अपने वेगपूर्वक गन्तव्य स्थान के कारण उर कण्ठ व शिर इन तीन प्रक्रमों के माध्यम से स्वरों की निष्पत्ति करता है। अतः इस प्रसङ्ग में वर्णोच्चारणस्थानों की ओर बुद्धि को दौडाना व्यर्थ है।

आधुनिक युग के वैदिकशिरोमणि महान् वेदभाष्यकार महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती ने भी अपनी ऋग्वेदादि-भाष्यभूमिका के 'स्वरव्यवस्थाविषय' में उदात्तादि का स्वरूप पूर्वव्याख्यात भाष्यलक्षणानुसारितया ही माना है। वहां उन्होंने ऊर्ध्वाधोभागनिष्पन्नता का कोई संकेत नहीं किया-

अथ वेदार्थोपयोगितया संक्षेपतः स्वराणां व्यवस्था लिख्यते।.....तत्रोदात्तादीनां लक्षणानि व्याकरणमहाभाष्यकारपतञ्जलिप्रदर्शितानि लिख्यन्ते-

'स्वयं राजन्त इति स्वराः। आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येत्युच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य। आयामो गात्रणां निग्रहः, दारुण्यं स्वरस्य दारुणता रूक्षता, अणुता खस्य, कण्ठस्य संवृतता, उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य। अन्ववसर्गो मार्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य। अन्ववसर्गो गात्रणां शिथिलता, मार्दवं स्वरस्य मृदुता स्निग्धता, उरुता खस्य महत्ता कण्ठस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य।.....'उच्चैरुदात्तः' इत्याद्युपरि।'[४५]

आधुनिक युग के प्रसिद्ध वैदिक विद्वान् समीक्षाचक्रवर्ती पण्डित मधुसूदन ओझा ने बहुत पहले इस भ्रान्ति की ओर स्पष्ट शब्दों में संकेत किया था- 'यत्तु कैयटेन प्रक्रमः स्थानमुच्यते,

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स्थानञ्च ताल्वादिकमूर्ध्वाधरभागयुक्तम् इत्येवं व्याख्यातम्। काशिकाकौमुदीकारादिभिरपि कैयटवर्त्मैवानुसृतम्। तदेतत् सर्वं भगवत्पतञ्जल्यादिमहर्षितात्पर्यविरुद्धत्वादुपेक्ष्यम्। न हीमानि ताल्वादिस्थानानि तथोर्ध्वाधरभागयुक्तानि श्रूयन्ते वा स्मर्यन्ते वानुभूयन्ते वा। तिर्यग्भागैः सभागत्वेऽप्यूर्ध्वाधरभागैः सभागत्वस्य अप्रामाणिकत्वात्। अथ खल्वेकैकस्मिन् स्थाने प्रकल्पितेषु अग्रमध्यमपश्चाद्भागेषु उच्चादीनामभिनिष्पत्तिरिष्यते इति चेत् स्यादेतदेवम्, यदि नाम ताल्वादीनि स्थानानीह विवक्षितानि स्युः। न च तथा विवक्षां पश्यामः। द्विविधानि हि वर्णस्थानानि भवन्ति-सवनस्थानानि च मुखस्थानानि च। तत्रोरःकण्ठ-शिरोरूपैस्त्रिभिः सवनस्थानैरेवैतेषां सम्बन्धः सूत्रवार्तिकभाष्येषु प्रदर्श्यते। तस्मात् ताल्वादिसभागस्थानेषूर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्न उदात्तः। अधोभागनिष्पन्नोऽनुदात्त इत्येवमुक्तिः केषाञ्चिद् अपदार्थत्वादुपेक्ष्येति दिक्।'[४६]

महामहोपाध्याय गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी ने भी उक्त स्थल पर महाभाष्य-व्याख्याताओं के इस प्रमाद का स्पष्टतया उल्लेख किया है-

"एवमेव 'उच्चैरुदात्तः' इति सूत्रेऽपि शब्दोत्पत्तिप्रक्रिया या वैज्ञानिकी महाभाष्यकृतोक्ता, सा व्याख्याकृद्भिरन्यथैव नीता।.....वर्णानां हि द्विविधानि स्थानानि पाणिनीयशिक्षादौ दर्शितानि, सवनस्थानानि, आस्यान्तर्गतस्थानानि च। बुद्ध्यार्थान् समर्थ्यात्मना प्रेरितेन मनसाऽभिहतः कायाग्निर्यदा शारीरं मारुतं प्रेरयति, तदा स वायुः उरसि शिरसि कण्ठे वा मनोऽभिप्रायोऽनुकूलमेव क्वचित्प्रक्रमं करोति, तान्येतानि त्रीणि सवनस्थानानि शिक्षायामारम्भ एव स्पष्टीकृतानि-......। प्रत्यात्ममनुभवसिद्धं चेदम्- स्वसामर्थ्यानुसारं कदाचित्कश्चिदुच्चैर्वदति, कदाचिन्नीचैः, कदाचिच्च समेन स्वरेण इति। सोऽयं भेदः सवनस्थानकृत एव। तान्येतानि सवनस्थानान्येव प्रक्रमशब्देनोक्त्वा भाष्यकारेण उच्चैस्त्वनीचैस्त्वयोरव्यवस्थायाः समाधानं कृतम्, यद्यथाविधो यस्योपक्रमः, तत्र यदुच्चैस्तदुदात्तमिति विज्ञातव्यम्, कामं तदन्यापेक्षया नीचैरभवतु, न तेनास्माकं प्रयोजनमिति। परं कैयटमहाशयः सवनस्थानानामास्यस्थानानां च भेदमविचार्यैव 'उरः कण्ठः शिरः' इति स्थानत्रयमष्टानामपि स्थानानामुपलक्षणं मत्वा तत्र च प्रत्येकं स्थानेषु काल्पनिकमनुष्वविरुद्धं बिन्दुत्रयमुररीचकारेत्येकदेशितात्रपराध्यति। एवं महाभाष्यस्य गूढा आशया व्याख्याकृतां कृपया अन्यथैव नीता इति निदर्शनमात्रमिदम्।'[४७]

भाष्य के आधुनिक व्याख्याकारों में आचार्य चारुदेव शास्त्री, पं. युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक आदि ने कैयटादि के व्याख्यान को ही गतानुगतिकतया स्वीकार कर पुष्ट करने का प्रयास है। अतः उक्त स्थलगत इनकी व्याख्याएं भी संशोधनीय हैं।

कः पुनः प्रक्रमः? उरः कण्ठः शिर इति। यहां तीनों के अनन्तर इति शब्द लगाकर भाष्यकार ने स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि ये तीन ही प्रक्रम हैं। अतः यहां ये उच्चारणस्थान या उनके उपलक्षण के रूप में कथमपि निर्दिष्ट नहीं मानें जा सकते हैं।

यहां भाष्यकार द्वारा बोले गए 'उरः कण्ठः शिर' इति ये पस्पशोक्त 'त्रिधा बद्धः- त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति' की ओर स्पष्टतः सङ्केत करते दिखाई देते हैं। जब हम पस्पशा के उक्त वाक्य को पढते हैं तो संवादितया- 'कः पुनः प्रक्रमः उरः कण्ठः शिर'

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इति यह वाक्य याद आ जाता है तथा जब इसे पढते हैं तो परम्परागत- 'त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः उरसि कण्ठः शिरसीति' यह याद आ जाता है। ये दोनों स्थल निःसन्देह शब्द के त्रैस्वर्यरूप वैशिष्ट्य को सूचित कर रहे हैं।

त्रिधा बद्धः वाला पूर्वप्रस्तुत उद्धरण ऋग्वेद से लिया गया है, अतः उक्त वेदमन्त्र द्वारा शब्द के त्रैस्वर्यरूप धर्म को बताना वैदिक भाषा की दृष्टि से तो अतीव महत्वपूर्ण है। क्योंकि यह वैदिक शब्दों की बहुत बडी विशेषता है, जो उच्चारण व अर्थनिर्धारण में महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाती है। यद्यपि लौकिक संस्कृत में भी स्वर अर्थविशेष का निर्धारण करते हैं, अष्टाध्यायी के षष्ठाध्यायगत द्वितीयपाद में लौकिक भाषा के शब्दों में अर्थविशेष में स्वरविधान विशेषरूप से उपलब्ध है। परन्तु वेदशब्दों में तो यह अतीव महत्त्वपूर्ण है। वेदशब्दों की इसी विशेषता को उक्त मन्त्र में त्रिधा बद्धः से प्रकट किया है। महाकवि कालिदास भी इसे देवगण द्वारा की गई ब्रह्मा की स्तुति के प्रसङ्ग में निम्न प्रकार से प्रस्तुत करते हैं-

उद्घातः प्रणवो यासां न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम्।
कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्गस्तासां त्वं प्रभवो गिराम्।।[४८]

अर्थ- देवगण ब्रह्माजी की स्तुति करते हुए कहते हैं- हे ब्रह्मन्! जिन वेदवाणियों का आरम्भ प्रणव (ओउम्) से होता है, जिनका उदीरण (उच्चारण) तीन न्यायों से (उदात्त, अनुदात्त, स्वरित, इन) तीन स्वरों से होता है, जिनका कर्म यज्ञ तथा फल स्वर्ग है, उन वेदवाणियों के प्रभव (उद्गमस्थान) आप ही हैं। यहाँ मल्लिनाथ लिखते हैं- "नीयन्ते एभिरर्थविशेषा इति न्यायाः स्वराः। उक्तञ्च स्वरविशेषादर्थविशेषप्रतिपत्तिः, यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधादिति"।[४९]

इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि-उरः कण्ठः शिरः ये वर्णोच्चारण स्थान न होकर उदात्त, अनुदात्त व स्वरित इन तीन स्वरों के साधक तीन प्रक्रम हैं। उच्चैरुदात्तः- नीचैरनुदात्तः सूत्रभाष्य में भी उरः कण्ठः शिरः इन स्वरसाधक प्रक्रमों को न समझकर कैयटादि ने इन्हें उच्चारणस्थान के रूप में मान लिया और काशिका वाली वृत्ति की ओर झुक गए।

मुनित्रय के अभिप्राय के विरुद्ध व्याख्यान करनेवाले आधुनिक वैयाकरण सिद्धान्तकौमुदी या लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी आदि के व्याख्यान-प्रसङ्ग में कहते हैं कि यदि उच्चैरुदात्तः में ऊर्ध्वभागनिष्पन्नता न लेकर ऊँचा स्वर लिया जाए तो उपांशु उच्चारण में उदात्तादि स्वर नहीं हो सकेंगे। इनके इस आशय वाले कथन यहाँ प्रस्तुत हैं-

'नादधर्मविशेषः उच्चैस्त्वं नेह विवक्षितम्, उपांशूच्चार्यमाणो अव्याप्तेः। किन्तूच्चैश्शब्दोऽधिकरणशक्तिप्रधान ऊर्ध्वभागे इत्यर्थे वर्तते'।[५०]

'कुछ लोग जो ऊँचे स्वर से बोला जाए वह उदात्त होत्ता है ऐसा अनर्थ किया करते हैं। उनके अनर्गल-प्रलाप से सावधान रहना चाहिए; क्योंकि तब मानसिक जप में उदात्तत्व आदि न माना जा सकेगा, अतः यह अनिष्ट है'।[५१]

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इन लोगों के इस तर्क का उत्तर यह है कि उपांशु का अर्थ दूर तक न सुनाई देने वाला स्वर है- उप समीपे अ ग्रुते व्याप्नोतीति उपांशु। आचार्य हेमचन्द्र भी कहते हैं- 'उपां ग्रुते उपांशु'[५२]। उपांशु का यही स्वरूप स्मृतियों में भी निर्दिष्ट है-

त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्यात्तस्य तत्वं निबोधत।
वाचिकष्टा उपांशुष्टा मानसष्टा त्रिधाकृतिः।।
शनैरुच्चारयन्मन्त्रं किञ्चिदोष्ठौ प्रचालयेत्।
किञ्चिच्छ्रवणयोग्यः स्यात् स उपांशुर्जपः स्मृतः।।[५३]

उपांशु उच्चारण में श्रवणगोचर होने वाले बाह्य स्वर को दबाकर भी पाणिन्युक्त मन्द, मध्य व तीव्र इस त्रिविध प्रयत्न से बोला जा सकता है। जैसे कि कोई किसी भयावह स्थिति में प्रियजन को उससे बचाने के लिए बाह्य ध्वनि को दबाकर भी उसके प्रति जोर लगाकर, आयामादि-पूर्वक बोलता है। इस रीति से उपांशु में भी उदात्त स्वर निर्बाध रूप से संभव है। केवल कर्णगोचर बाह्य ध्वनि का तारतम्य (न्यूनाधिकत्व) ही उदात्तत्व आदि का साधक नहीं है, यह तथ्य 'सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्' की व्याख्या में स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है। अतः यह कोई समस्या नहीं है।

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४. कुमारसंभवम् - २.१२;
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३१. सङ्गीतनारायणः - खण्ड-१, परिच्छेद-१, श्लोक-३१;
३२. सङ्गीतसमयसार (पार्श्वदेवकृत), प्रथमाधिकरणम् - १०-१३;
३३. शिक्षासंग्रहः - याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा, श्लोक - ६-७;
३४. महाभाष्यप्रदीपः - १.२.२९-३०;
३५. उद्योत - १.२.२९-३०;
३६. काशिका - १.२.२९;
३७. काशिका - १.२.२९;
३८. काशिका - १.२.३०;
३९. पदमञ्जरी - १.२.२९;
४०. महाभाष्यप्रदीपः - १.२.२९;
४१. वैय्याकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, संज्ञाप्रकरणम्।
४२. शिक्षासंग्रहः - याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा, श्लो - ६;
४३. शिक्षासंग्रहः - माण्डूकीशिक्षा, श्लो - ९-१०;
४४. पस्पशागत 'चत्वारि शृङ्गा' पर उद्योत।
४५. ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, स्वरव्यवस्थाविषयः - पृ.-३४०;
४६. वर्णसमीक्षा, पृ.-१४४;
४७. महाभाष्यम्, नवाह्निकम्, गिरिधरशर्मचतुर्वेद-लिखिता भूमिका, पृ.-३३-३४;
४८. कुमारसम्भवम् - २.१२;
४९. कुमारसम्भवम् मल्लिनाथीया टीका - २.१२;
५०. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी - 'उच्चैरुदात्तः' पर बालमनोरमा।
५१. लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी - ६-७, भैमीव्याख्या, प्रथम भाग, चतुर्थ संस्करण।
५२. अभिधानचिन्तामणि स्वपज्ञवृत्ति - १५३८;
५३. लघुहारीतस्मृतिः - ४१, ४३;

सन्दर्भग्रन्थाः

१. वाक्यपदीयम्, सम्पादक - काशिनाथ वासुदेव अभ्यंकर, विष्णु प्रभाकर लिमिये, पुण्यपत्तन-विद्यापीठ, पुणे, १९६५ ई.
२. ऋग्वेदसंहिता - वैदिक यन्त्रालय, केसरगंज, अजमेर (राजस्थान)
३. महाभाष्यम्, प्रदीपोद्योतसहितम्, (गुरुप्रसादशास्त्रिसम्पादितम्) राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानम्,जनकपुरी, नई दिल्ली-५८, पुनर्मुद्रण-१९९९ ई.

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४. कुमारसम्भवम् - राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानम्, जनकपुरी, नई दिल्ली-५८, पुनर्मुद्रण-२००५ ई.
५. अष्टाध्यायी - वैदिक यन्त्रालय, केसरगंज, अजमेर (राजस्थान) २०६५ वि.
६. अमरकोशः - राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानम्, जनकपुरी, नई दिल्ली-५८, पुनर्मुद्रण-२००३ ई.
७. पाणिनीयशिक्षा (श्लोकात्मिका, शिक्षासंग्रह के अन्तर्गत) सम्पादक - रामप्रसादि त्रिपाठी, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी- १९८९ ई.
८. शिक्षासूत्राणि - सम्पादक - युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक, रामलाल कपूर ट्रस्ट, रेवली, सोनीपत (हरियाणा)
९. प्रपञ्चहृदयम्, सम्पादक - ति. गणपति शास्त्री, शिवालिक प्रकाशन, २७/१६ शक्तिनगर, दिल्ली- ११०००७ पुनर्मुद्रण- २००२ ई.
१०. तैत्तिरीयप्रातिशाख्यम् - सम्पादक - जमुनाप्रसाद पाठक, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज ऑफिस वाराणसी, प्रथम संस्करण, २००७ ई.
११. वैदिक-स्वरबोध, लेखक- डा.ब्रजबिहारी चौबे, कात्यायन वैदिक साहित्य प्रकाशन, चतुर्वेद निकेतन, जोधामल मार्ग, गौतमनगर, होशियारपुर (पंजाब), संशोधित एवं परिवर्धित संस्करण, अक्तूबर, २००४ ई.
१२. शिक्षासंग्रह - याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा, नारदीयशिक्षा, माण्डूकी शिक्षा, सम्पादक - रामप्रसाद त्रिपाठी, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत -विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी - १९८९ ई.
१३. नाट्यशास्त्रम् (द्वितीय भाग) सम्पादक - रविशंकर नागर, परिमल प्रकाशन, २७/२८ शक्तिनगर, दिल्ली- ७, १९९५ ई.
१४. सङ्गीतनारायणः, सम्पादक - मन्दाक्रान्ता बोस, इन्दिरा गाँधी राष्ट्रीय कलाकेन्द्र, दिल्ली, २००९ ई.
१५. सङ्गीतसमयसार (पार्श्वदेवकृत), सम्पादिका - डा. एम. विजयलक्ष्मी, शिवालिक प्रकाशन, २७/१६ शक्तिनगर, दिल्ली- ३२, प्रथम संस्करण- २००३ ई.
१६. काशिका-रामलाल कपूर ट्रस्ट, बहालगढ, (सोनीपत) हरियाणा, प्रथम संस्करण - २०५४ वि.
१७. पदमञ्जरी (प्रथमभागः १-४ अध्यायाः) संस्कृतपरिषद, उस्मानियाविश्वविद्यालय, हैदराबाद, प्रथमसंस्करणम् - १९८५ ई.
१८. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, सम्पादक - पणशीकर वासुदेव शर्मा, मेहरदास लछमनदास, अंसारी रोड, दरियागंज, नई दिल्ली, २, पुनर्मुद्रण - १९८५ ई.
१९. ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका (महर्षिदयानन्दकृता), वैदिक पुस्तकालय, दयानन्द आश्रम, केसरगंज, अजमेर, त्रयोदश वार, २००८ ई.
२०. वर्णसमीक्षा, लेखक - मधुसूदन ओझा, राजस्थान संस्कृत अकादमी, श्रीवीरेश्वर भवन, गणगौरी बाजार, जयपुर (राजस्थान), २०५१ वि.
२१. महाभाष्यम्, नवाह्निकम्, रुद्रदत्तझा प्रणीत-तत्त्वालोकटीकोपेतम्, गिरिधरशर्माचतुर्वेद-लिखिता भूमिका, प्रकाशक- चौखम्बा संस्कृत संस्थान वाराणसी, चतुर्थ संस्करण १९९६ ई.
२२. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी (बालमनोरमासहिता) प्रथम भाग, सम्पादक - गोपालदत्त पाण्डेय, चौखम्बा सुरभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, षष्ठ संस्करण, १९९८ ई.
२३. लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी - भैमीव्याख्या, प्रथमभाग, चतुर्थ संस्करण - २००० ई, भीमसेन शास्त्री, भैमी प्रकाशन, ५३७, लाजपतराय मार्केट, दिल्ली-११०००६)
२४. अभिधानचिन्तामणि (स्वोपज्ञवृत्तियुत), सम्पादक - हेमचन्द्रविजयगणि, श्रीजैनसाहित्यवर्धकसभा, अहमदाबाद, गुजरात, २०३२ वि.
२५. लघुहारीतस्मृतिः (अष्टादशस्मृति, भाषाटीका सहित, के अन्तर्गत), सम्पादक व अनुवादक - पं. मिहिरचन्द, राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानम्, जनकपुरी, नई दिल्ली-५८, पुनर्मुद्रण - २००५ ई.

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Following in the Wing-Prints of a 15th Century Koel: Re-tracing the Kokilasandeśa of Uddaṇḍa Śāstrī

Venetia Kotamraju

The *Kokilasandeśa* of Uddaṇḍa Śāstrī is one of Kerala's best loved sandeśa kāvyas but wins little recognition beyond the state. In addition to some beautiful poetry, it also presents a particularly rich vein of material for the historian - even by the standards of sandeśa kāvyas. Across this lush landscape, thickly carpeted in betel nut or cardamom trees and criss-crossed by rivers; among the local temples alive with myth; and within the fabulous cities whose palaces push the stars out of their orbits, we are introduced to the kingdoms of the Puralīs, the Kolas and the Zamorins; the Māmaṅkam festival and a varied cast of Uddaṇḍas contemporary scholars, poets and kings.

Uddaṇḍa was a 15th century Tamil from a village near Kanchipuram whose learning and scholarship is so great that even the parrots are reciting the Vedas as the koel flies past.[1] He made his way west, seeking patronage, and eventually ended up in Kerala where he is said to have married a Nair lady from Chendamangalam, a town just north of Kochi. The heroine, whom the koel is to seek at home in Chendamangalam, is thus quite possibly Uddaṇḍa's wife. In the play *Mallikāmāruta,* Uddaṇḍa gives the details of his origins and his travels across various kingdoms including Kaliṅga, Āndhra, Karṇāṭa and Cola en-route the court of the Calicut Zamorins where he finally found a generous patron and the recognition he deserved. It is tempting to imagine that the route the hero instructs the koel to take is similar to that which the poet himself had taken when he first came to Kerala as a young man. In the poem, he describes how he spent this journey diving into great rivers and visiting temples, among other things, which could well be a summary of the koel's proposed trip.

What is certain, though, is that Uddaṇḍa knew this part of Kerala - roughly the northern half of the state - very well. Indeed, he spent

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considerable time in Calicut, which is beautifully described in the poem, and legends connect him with other stops such as Taliparamba.

Although the koel is to spend well over half of the journey, distance-wise, in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the hero dwells at length only on Kanchipuram and lists only four stops before the Sahya mountains (the Western Ghats) and Thirunelly temple on the Kerala-Karnataka border. By contrast, the koel is instructed to visit 15 different places during the 500 kms-odd stretch in northern Kerala.

In this article, I will try to give an idea of the richness of historical, sociological and topographical details that the poem offers by highlighting several of the stops the koel is to make in Kerala.[2]

Thirunelly

The koel's first sighting of Kerala is at Thirunelly, an ancient temple at the point where the deciduous forests that lead up to the Western Ghats from the plains begin to turn into the betel nut and plantain that cover their western flank. Today Thirunelly is 20 kms or so within Kerala's border, but in the poem the koel must first cross the temple and ascend a slope - presumably the Brahmagiri hills which sit in magnificence behind the temple - before he would see the fertile land of Kerala.

दृष्ट्वा तत्रामलकधरणीमन्दिरं शार्ङ्गपाणिं
तस्माच्छैलात्तटमवतरन् किञ्चिदाकुञ्च्य पक्षौ।
कूलेऽम्भोधेः क्रमुककलिलां केरलक्षोणिमग्रे
पश्य स्फीतां भृगुसुतभुजाविक्रमोपक्रमं या।। ४१।। पूर्वभागः

Pay a visit to Viṣṇu of the Śārṅga bow at
Amalakadharaṇī and then,
trimming your wings a little,
soar down the mountainside to the plain.
Up ahead on the ocean's shore, spread wide before you,
closely carpeted with kramukas,
you'll see the land of Kerala
fruit of the mighty arms of Bhṛgu's son, Paraśurāma.

Śiva is said to have gone from Thirunelly to Kottiyur – the koel's next stop - to destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice and there is still an important link between the two temples. Devotees are supposed to visit both temples

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plus a third, Thrissilery, together. To travel to Kottiyur by road you have to go back on yourself through Mananthavady which is about 30 kms but there is apparently a path of 7-10 kms through the hills which devotees used to travel by foot. If so it is a short flight for the koel to his next destination.

Kottiyur

The famous abode of Śiva, known today as Kottiyur, is in fact two temples rather than one. This spot was the scene of the famous sacrifice conducted by Dakṣa, according to the temple Sthalapurāṇa. The temple complex consists of two temples on opposite sides of the Bavali river, the river Uddaṇḍa calls the Vāṅmayī. One, Ikkare Kuti, is open for 11 months of the year and is much like other temples of this area. The other, Akkare Kuti, opens for the spectacular 28 day Vaiśākha festival, which recalls the Dakṣayāga and takes place around May and June each year.

Kuthuparamba

After Kottiyūr, the koel visits the Puralī kingdom of Kottayam (not to be confused with the Kottayam of southern Kerala) in today's Kuthuparamba. Here the toweringly tall palaces described by the poet are nowhere to be seen, and what was once a former capital city is now indistinguishable from other halts on the main road to the coast. As Herodotus observed the fate of cities is in perpetual flux. The rivers, mountains and temples that the poem describes by contrast have for the most part withstood the ravages of time.

Taliparamba

The hero then asks his messenger to take a small diversion from north-west to Sampadgrāma, just as Kālidāsa's yakṣa urges the cloud to take a circuitous route in order not to miss Ujjain.

Prof. Unni notes that Sampadgrāma 'was one of the opulent villages of ancient Kerala',[3] as its name 'sampad - wealth' and 'grāma-village' suggests. It is today known as Taliparamba and houses the famous Rajarajeshvara temple.

This temple is the scene of several stories about the poet. As a notice board tells visitors even today, he was one of the most famous – possibly

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the original – recipient of the illustrious Kuttumparam award for excellence in a given field awarded by the temple leaders. The poet seems to make no reference to this, but the very fact he spends nine verses describing this temple, far longer than any other, suggests a partiality. This partiality may also be attributed to another story which tells how Uddaṇḍa, a devotee of nirguṇa Brahma, found his palms spontaneously come together in prayer – as the lotus closes upon seeing the moon - as he stood before the Taliparamba Śiva. This, then brings an added significance to the verse with which the hero asks the koel to praise God in this temple.[4]

After this diversion, the koel is told to fly south along the coast, via the cardamom-rich Kola land which was originally the dominion of the Mūṣika kings and only later the Kolattiris, who give the land the name 'Kola'.

मुक्ताजालैर्धवलपुलिनं वीचिमालाविकीर्णैः
कूलाध्वानं कुसुमिततरुस्निग्धमालम्बमानः।
देशाद्देशं व्रजसि कुतुकोत्तानमुग्धाननानाम्।
वामाक्षीणां नयनचुलकैः सादरं पीयमानः।। ६३।। पूर्वभागाः।।

Hug the coast, resplendent with trees in full bloom,its sandbanks white with the mass of pearls scattered there by successive waves. As you travel from region to region beautiful young women, raising their innocent faces questioningly, will drink deep of you with rapt eyes.

Calicut

The koel's next stop is Calicut or Kozhikode - which Uddaṇḍa a Sanskritises as Kukkuṭakroḍa - the city in which the scholar-poet won a patron in the Zamorin ruler Mānavikrama, as well as great acclaim. The poet's description of Calicut includes some of the best verses of the poem and celebrates the city as a whole – including its sea-borne wealth; Calicut was and still is a major port - rather than any particular site or temple.

It was at Calicut's Tali Śiva temple that Uddaṇḍa, after many years of unparallelled success on its debating floor, was given his comeuppance by a precocious 12-years old named Dāmodara. And it

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was also here that Uddaṇḍa's play was first performed. Yet the temple finds no mention in Uddaṇḍa's description of the city.

The absence of any reference to Mānavikrama, his contemporaries at the Zamorin's court or this temple leads some scholars to suppose Uddaṇḍa wrote the poem early in his career before he had become so acquainted with Calicut and its inhabitants. The familiarity with Kerala that is so evident though argues against this and Uddaṇḍa does describe the Zamorin family as a whole at least as brave, powerful rulers.[5]

Tirunavaya and Tripangode

Sixty-five kilometres down the coast, the koel reaches the land of Prakāśa, literally the 'bright' land, where the ill effects of Kali Yuga have been banished by continuous Vedic recitation. This is the stretch in between the towns of Tirur and Ponnani, through which the huge Nilā or Bharatapuzha river flows out into the Arabian ocean.

There are three temples that the hero bids his messenger visit as he flies through: Tripangode, Thirunnavaya and Chamravattom. The first is a Śiva temple which the poet calls Śvetāraṇya. Śiva is worshipped as Mṛtyuñjaya, 'conqueror of death', because it was here that he attacked Yama, incensed at the god of death's attack on his devotee.

The Thirunnavaya Navamukunda temple - which Uddaṇḍa calls Nāvākṣetra - is next on the koel's route. The temple's main claim to fame is the Māmaṅkam festival that used to be held here. The temple stands right on the northern bank of the Nilā river, just a few kilometres from the river's mouth, and was thus perhaps a logical place to hold a festival whose mythical origins and divine significance pale in comparison to its influence on trade and politics. For the hero though, it is for the memories of his wife it invokes that the festival is described:

साकं कान्तैर्मिलति ललितं केरलीनां कदम्बे
मत्प्रेयस्याः प्रियसख ! महामघसेवागतायाः ।
पायं पायं मुखपरिमलं मोहनं यत्र मत्ताः ।
प्रायोऽद्यापि भ्रमरकलभा नैव जिघ्रन्ति पद्मान् ।। ७३ ।। पूर्वभागः

I am sure that even today the young bees,
driven wild from drinking again and again
of my wife's intoxicatingly scented mouth

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when she came for the Mahāmāgha festival –
alongside the gaggle of Keralian ladies who,
accompanied by their husbands,
gathered in all excitement –
won't even notice the lotuses' fragrance.

The koel is to fly slightly inland after crossing the Nilā, now called the Bharatapuzha. His first stop is the home of Uddaṇḍa's scholarly friends, the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas, to whom he should offer a poetic composition as a gift – possibly this very poem itself. After the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa's house, which is in a village today known as Porkulam, the koel visits in rapid succession Thrissur, Peruvanam, Urakam, Irinjalakuda and Kodungallur.

Mahodayapuram

The koel's penultimate stop is Mahodayapura, the ancient capital of Kerala under the Kulaśekhara kings, the second Chera empire. Mahodayapuram must once have been a grand city - the *Śukasandeśa*, another Kerala sandeśa kāvya, describes its mighty army and overlordship of other Kerala kings – but it is now a small village two or three kilometres south of Kodungallur, called Tiruvanchikulam. It has a quiet Śiva temple said to have been built in the 11th or 12th century A. D. About a kilometre south of the temple flows the Cūrṇī river, now called the Periyar, and it is this that is next described.

सा च प्रेक्ष्या सरिदनुपदं यत्र कल्माषितायां
मज्जन्माहोदयपुरवधूकण्ठकस्तूरिकाभिः।
रक्ताः पद्माः कुवलयवनीसाम्यमापद्यमाना।
विज्ञायन्ते स्फुटमहिमधामोदये जृम्भमाणे।। ८९।। पूर्वभागः

Then admire the river herself.
Her waters grow dark with the musk
washed off the necks of Mahodayapura's girls as they swim,
transforming red lotuses into clusters of blue water lilies.
It is only when the sun starts to spread its warm light
that they are clearly shown to be lotuses.

The koel's final stop lies across this mighty river, the city of Jayantamaṅgala which is today known as Chendamangalam:

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Chendamangalam

लक्ष्मीजन्मस्थितिमनुपमैः पूरितां रत्नजालै-
र्भूभृद्गर्भां प्रकटितकलेशोदयश्लाघ्यवृद्धिम्।
पाथोराशेस्तनुमिव परां मन्यमानो विशालां
यामध्यास्ते स खलु निगमाम्भोजभृङ्गो रथाङ्गी।। १।। उत्तरभागः।

There discus-wielding Viṣṇu himself,
bee to the Vedas' lotus,
lives seemingly in the belief
that this sprawling city is another vast ocean.
For both are the birthplace of Wealth herself,
both are filled with jewels that know no comparison,
both are home to the pillars of the earth*,
and while the rise of its artists magnifies the city,
it is the rise of the moon that magnifies the ocean.

Whether or not Chendamangalam was ever as vast and rich as Uddaṇḍa's description implies, it is now a charming but sleepy village with abundance of temples. Nevertheless, the Mārakkara household - which is reported to be the family of Uddaṇḍa's wife, and which is described at length in the poem as the home of the heroine — survives to this day. Family tradition holds that one of the reasons the Uddaṇḍa came to Chendamangalam in the first place was because of the report of the Mārakkara family's great learning.

The actual site of the house in Uddaṇḍa's time is uncertain. According to the poem, the house lies to the south of the temple. Today's Mārakkara family is based south-west of the temple, but at a little distance. Instead, a plot adjacent to the temple, which now hosts a recently built house, may have been the original site.

Family members tell the story of how Uddaṇḍa came to write the *Kokilasandeśa*, Uddaṇḍa used to travel a lot, even after marrying, to participate in debating competitions and visit his scholar-friends. Perhaps towards the end of his life he went back to his village near Kanchipuram and was, due to failing health, unable to travel back to his wife in Chendamangalam. It was then that he composed the *Kokilasandeśa* as

*Bhūbhṛt, literally 'that which bears the earth', is often used to denote a mountain or a king; both are meant in this case.

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he pined for her. Whether the couple was ever reunited — whether they ever did enjoy full days of each other's company against a backdrop of roaring monsoon clouds[6] - is not recounted.

Thus, even a brief survey of the part of the poem set in Kerala reveals a great deal about both the poet and this part of India in the 15th century. Further research into this and the many hundreds of other sandeśa kāvyas, in Sanskrit and regional languages, would unlock a wealth of information for the historian. Unfortunately, most of the poems are not easily available either in the original language of composition or in translation. Let us hope that changes soon.

Verses and translations taken from *The Message of the Koel: Uddaṇḍa Śāstrī's Kokilasandeśa*, translated by Shankar Rajaraman and Venetia Kotamraju.

Reference in the Poem	Modern Identification
	Tamil Nadu
Kāñcī (1.1ff)	Kanchipuram
Kampā (1.1ff)	Kampa
Dwelling place of Viṣṇu, lord of Kāñcī (1.16)	Varadaraja Perumal Temple
Kāmapīṭha (1.17)	Kāmākṣi Amman Temple
Dwelling place of Śiva as Valayāṅka (1.18)	Ekambaranathar Temple
Kṣīrasindhu (1.21ff)	Palar
An agrahāra of great learning (1.26ff)	Not identified, but thought to be the poet's own village of Lāṭapuram near Kanchipuram
Vilvakṣetra (1.27ff)	Sri Vilavanadeeswarar Temple, Thiruvalam
Kāverī (1.35)	Kaveri
Dwelling place of Viṣṇu as Raṅganātha (1.35)	Srirangam Ranaganathar Swamy Temple, Srirangam
Hosala (1.36)	Trichinapoly and Coimbatore districts
Lakṣmīnārāyaṇapura (1.36ff)	Not identified

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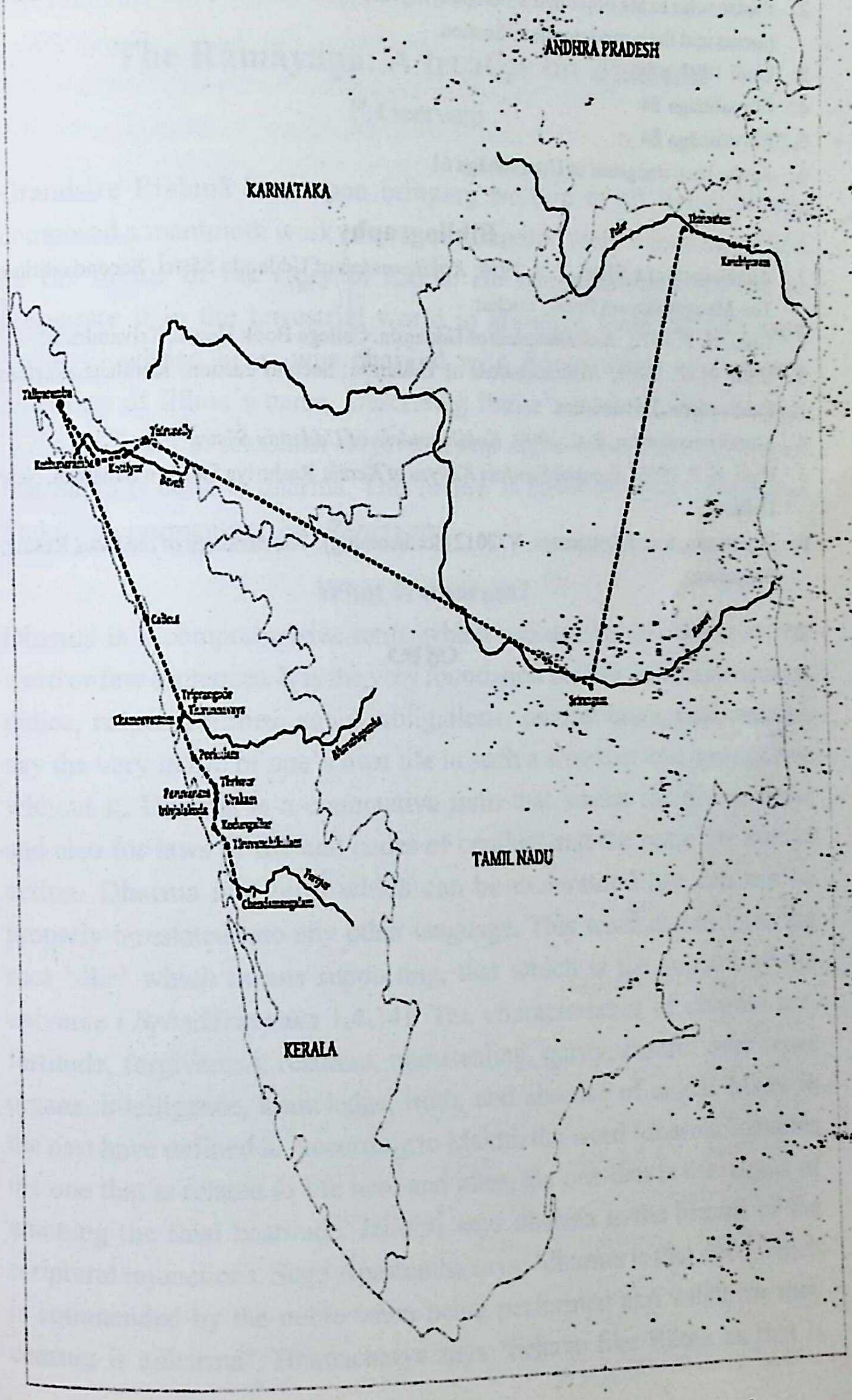
	Karnataka
Sahyaśaila (1.39)	Western Ghats
Āmalakadharaṇī (1.41)	Thirunelly
	Kerala
Vāṅmayī (1.42)	Bavali
Dwelling place of Śiva who destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice (1.42ff)	Ikkare and Akkare Kottiyur Siva Temple, Kottiyur
Dwelling place of Bhadrakālī (1.42)	A Bhadrakālī Temple near Kottiyur
Capital of the Puralī kings (1.44ff)	Kuthuparamba
Sampadgrāma (1.50ff)	Rajarajeshwara Temple, Taliparamba
Śambarī (1.61)	Trichambaram Temple, near Taliparamba
Kola lands (1.61)	Kolathunadu
Kukkuṭakroḍa (1.64ff)	Kozhikode/Calicut
Prakāśa lands (1.70ff)	Vettathunad
Śvetāraṇya (1.70ff)	Triprangode Siva Temple Nilā(1.72) Bharathapuzha
Nāvākṣetra (1.72ff)	Thirunavaya Navamukunda Temple
Śambarakroḍa (1.75)	Chamravattom Shasta Temple (Ayyappa)
Land purified by Netranārāyaṇa (1.77)	Not identified
Muktipuri (1.78)	Not identified
Raṇakhala (1.79ff)	Porkulam
Vṛṣapuri (1.82)	Thrissur
Dwelling place of Śiva of double form (1.83ff)	Pevanam Mahadeva Temple, Peruvanam
Dwelling place of Pārvatī (1.85)	Ammathiruvadi Temple, Urakam
Saṅgamagrāma (1.86)	Koodalmanikyam temple, Irinjalakuda
Dwelling place of Kālī (1.87)	Kodungallur Bhagavathy Temple, Kodungallur
Āñjanakhala/Mahodayapura (1.88ff)	Tiruvanchikulam
Cūrṇī (1.11; 1.88ff)	Periyar
Jayantamaṅgala (1.11; 1.92ff)	Chendamangalam
Dwelling place of Viṣṇu (1.11; 2.1)	Chendratharikkovu Vishnu Temple, Chendamangalam
Mārakkara house (2.12ff)	Marakkal

The Koel's Route



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Notes

1. Pūrvabhāga 26
2. Please refer to the notes and accompanying map for a full list of places mentioned in the poems and their modern identification.
3. Unni 1997 p.98
4. Pūrvabhāga 54
5. Pūrvabhāga 64
6. As the hero imagines in Uttarabhāga 61

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Review

The Rāmāyaṇa: A treatise on dharma

P. Geervani

Grandsire Brahmā bent upon bringing welfare to all living beings composed a mammoth work of over one hundred crore verses sanctified by the theme of the story of Rāma. He commissioned Nārada to propagate it in the terrestrial world in abridged form through sage Vālmīki whose heart was charged with Rāma nāma by constant repetition of Rāma's name. Describing Rāma's virtues, Vālmīki uses two significant expressions satyavrata and dhṛtavrata. It is well known that Satya is basic to dharma. This review is based on Trayambakarāya Makhi's commentary on *Rāmāyaṇa.*

What is dharma?

Dharma is a comprehensive term, which can not be delineated in one word or few sentences. It is the very foundation for life as it encompasses duties, responsibilities, social obligations, secular laws, conventions, nay the very fabric of one's own life in such a way that one can not live without it. Dharma is a connotative term that stands for divine order and also for laws of life and codes of conduct and the norm for human action. Dharma is a term which can be understood but can not be properly translated into any other language. This word comes from the root 'dhṛ' which means supporting, that which is the support of the universe (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.4.14). The characteristics of dharma are, fortitude, forgiveness, restraint, non-stealing, purity, control over sense organs, intelligence, knowledge, truth, and absence of anger. Many in the past have defined it. According to Makhi, the word 'dharma' denotes the one that is related to life here and after, the one that is the means of attaining the final beatitude. Jaiminī says dharma is the import of the scriptural injunctions. Sage Āpastamba says, 'dharma is that deed which is commended by the noble when being performed and whatever they censure is adharma'. Bhattacharya says 'behave like Rāma as that is

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dharma. Do not behave like Rāvaṇa that is adharma'. Vedas expound dharma as is known from the words like 'The entire Vedas are the origin of dharma or the Vedas are the root of dharma (*Dharmakutam*, Makhi, 1916, pp12-17). Manu identified the tenfold dimensions of dharma like—contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteousness, not appropriating anything, purification, wisdom, knowledge, truthfulness and abstention from anger (*Manu* 6-92). He prescribes different duties not only for people of the four stages or āśramas and castes or varnas but also for people of different ages or yugas. Vālmīki asserts the supremacy of dharma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and maintains that pleasure should be grounded in dharma (*Āraṇya* 38.32). He considers satya as dharma and does not see any difference between the two concepts. The knowers of dharma say that truth is supreme dharma. Through out *Rāmāyaṇa,* Vālmīki tells about importance and pragmatic value of dharma. The inter-relatedness of dharma, artha and kāma and the course of action to be followed are elaborately dealt in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Vālmīki shows how dharma assumes different roles according to the changed situations in *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Authority on Dharma

The authorities on dharma are fourfold-Vedas, Smṛtis, good conduct and the self-satisfaction of the saintly. Manu too, says, 'Vedas, Smṛtis, good conduct and satisfaction of one's own conscience as the fourfold direct authority on dharma'. Gautama also says, 'Vedas are the basis of dharma'. The recollection and conduct of the knowers of the Vedas also form its basis. Āpastamba also opines, that the usual conduct of the knowers of dharma and the Vedas as the authority for dharma. The word 'usual practice of the knowers of dharma' indicates the three viz. Smṛtis, good conduct and self-satisfaction. The authority in determining the principles of dharma is not however, the same. The Vedas alone are said to be an independent authority. Smṛtis good conduct and self-satisfaction follow it, in that order. Sages have composed the principles of dharma in the Smṛtis exactly as they are elucidated in the Vedas after taking into consideration the differences related to place time, eligibility and with regard to the differences in class and stage of life (*Dharmākutam*, Makhi, 1916 pp15-18).

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The truth regarding dharma is hidden as if in a cave, subtle and difficult to grasp. Ultimately the path treaded by the wise predecessors is the right course of action. When the wise too, are in doubt regarding the right course to be adopted, their own conscience is stated to be the authority. Sage Bodhāyana also says, "Each Veda instructs on matters of dharma. Dharma as explained in the Smṛtis is the second and the third is the conduct of people with recognised status." The purpose of allotting them an order like first, second etc. is to suggest that Śruti is more authoritative than the Smṛti when the two contradict. Therefore when there is a contradiction between the Śruti and the Smṛti it is the import of Śruti which is to be accepted. Preceptor Āpastamba also agrees on this saying, "When a contradiction arises, the import of Śruti must be preferred" (*Dharmākutam*, Makhi, 1916, pp17-19).

Similarly, when there is contradiction between Smṛti and the established practice, the import of Smṛti must be preferred to the established practice. Kātyāyana also says, "Just as one should give up the import of Smṛti if it is contradictory to the scriptures, so also established worldly practice contradicting the Smṛti must be abandoned". The code of conduct set by the gentlemen is stated to be the third for this very reason. Acting as per the dictates of dharma conscientiously is what is called the good conduct. When that contradicts dharma, whichever way his conscience guides him is what is known as the self-satisfaction of the saintly (Makhi, *Dharmākutam*, 1916, pp18-19).

When dharma is propounded as applied to actual situations in life, it will be nothing but Smṛti. Many sages have composed Smṛtis, but none has however, elucidated dharma as applied to human conduct in a single treatise in its entirety, selecting a subject of a single individual who has led an exemplary life like in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Āpastamba also says, "dharma and adharma do not themselves tell us to follow them; nor do gods, Gandharvas, forefathers tell us what is dharma and what is adharma. (*Dharmākutam*, Makhi, 1916, pp19). Whatever the noble commend is dharma and whatever they censure is adharma. If the conduct of all noble men in all the villages and towns etc. is collectively looked at, the same may resemble the conduct of the well disciplined, the elders, the self-respectful, the non-greedy and the honest". The Śrutis, Smṛtis and

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Purāṇas do narrate accounts of such noble men of ideal conduct. The individuals are also stated to have achieved the respective fruits of those ideal traits but it is only one particular aspect of the dharma illustrated through ideal conduct, which is highlighted there in a disconnected form. Nowhere is, a complete account of a single ideal man narrated in an orderly manner in the form of a real life story like in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Having pledged to compose in a single treatise, the life history of a single ideal man pursuing the course of dharma in all its aspects that will illustrate the ideal conduct of the great in its entirety, Vālmīki composed the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the real life story of the best of the Raghu dynasty. In this Kāvya what is elucidated through the story of Rāma is the dharma of the nature of ideal conduct, which is its primary import.

Description of Kāvya

Kāvyas frequently eulogise matters and objects which poets wish to justify. How can a Kāvya elucidate principles of dharma and adharma is a question asked. Makhi opines that the prohibitive rule refers to the ordinary Kāvyas depicting ordinary heroes who are not credited with anything great. Kāvyas of great poets depict great heroes, provide guidance for the pursuit of the four Puruṣārtas of human life and have dharma as their primary import. Hence it is that which have been respected by the great. It is for that, the great have treated the works of Kālidāsa as Smṛtis. Bhattacharya also says, "The conscience of the great is the authority on dharma when they have to decide doubtful matters." This proves that Kāvyas composed by great poets are as good as Smṛtis. When Kāvyas depict the import of Śrutis and Smṛtis it touches the heart. Earlier scholars have stated it, "What is stated in the Vedas is a king's order. What the Sages state in the Smṛtis it is like a friend's advice. What is stated in the Kāvyas is however, like a gentle advice of a loving wife. (*Dharmākutam*, Makhi, 1916, p 20-21) The purports of Kāvya are fame, wealth, knowledge of the worldly dealings, warding off the inauspicious, immediate bliss and advice like one offered by a loving wife. In the light of this discussion, no more debate is necessary to accept the fact that what Vālmīki composed the life story of a great man of holy reputation in the form of a Kāvya, primarily devoted to elucidate the principles of dharma, and provides means for pursuing the four

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Puruṣārthas of human life and therefore as good as Smṛti (*Dharmākuṭam*, Makhi, 1916 pp14-16).

Rāmāyaṇa a treatise on dharma

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is primarily a dharma Kāvya whether set forth by Vālmīki, Kamban or Tulasidas. It has always been quoted in all digests of Dharmaśāstra. Man alone has the capacity to choose good over evil when confronted with the choice. Many situations in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are dominated by the conflict between dharma and adharma. At all critical moments in the story, Vālmīki expounds elaborately the law of dharma. Rāma is a portrayed as a symbol of dharma and Rāvaṇa as adharma. The *Rāmāyaṇa* distinguishes laukikadharma, gārhastyadharma, Kuladharma, Varṇāśrama dharma. Rāma's choice was to resuscitate dharma so that kāma and artha can be enjoyed within legitimate bounds. He always puts righteousness first knowing that all else will follow. Rāma faced series of choices in life, but he finally chose values that he stood for. He lived truly a dharmic life.

In order to delineate a great person through his Kāvya, When Vālmīki asks Nārada 'who indeed in this world is qualified with proficiency in dharma?', his reply was 'Śrī Rāma'(*Rāmāyaṇa*,1.1-2). Why Rāma? In spite of there being gods, manes, Brahmanical and royal sages, yakṣas, demons why did Nārada select Rāma only? Makhi says even great sages like Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and others have on occasions gone against the dictates of the sacred law in keeping with their capabilities. Revered Śrī Rāma followed the dictates of dharma even undergoing suffering. To the same effect Mārkaṇḍeya tells Yudhiṣṭhira in the Vanaparvan of *Mahābhārata*: "When I think of the calamity befallen on you, I do not relate it to you but remember Rāma observing truth for a vow. He too was a king, and I saw him in the past residing in the forests. He too equal in valour with Indra of immense prowess and invincible in the battle field leaving life of enjoyments wandered through the forests". So Śri Rāma was chosen as an ideal of exemplary conduct.

Critical situations are temptations to part from righteous path for many for selfish reasons. If we examine the characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

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Daśaratha and his sons stuck to righteous path in all crisis situations. The first crisis that Daśaratha faces is when Viśvāmitra asks him to send Rāma with him to protect his sacrifices from the rākṣasas. Being righteous he could not go back on the promise to the sage and sends Rāma with him. Between his interest and that of sages Daśaratha decides to send Rāma with Viśvāmitra. Again at the time of coronation Daśaratha was faced with a choice between a promise to Kaikeyī and denying justice to his eldest son. He faces the crisis like moral automation and pays for this act with his life that rendered him immortal for his dharmic attitude. When Kauśalyā and all citizens plead Rāma not to go to forest, Rāma replies that dharma lies in obeying his father's word, being devoted to dharma he could not transgress. At that time Rāma was not yet a king and his stage is that of a son. Unlike a flickering flame, Rāma left behind his bright future with great calm and poise without looking back and went to the forest. Although Lakṣmaṇa does not accept his father's decision at first, decides to follow Rāma assuming it as his righteous duty. Sītā too follows Rāma considering it as rightful duty of a wife. Bharata encounters a crucial situation when he enters Ayodhyā and finds that his own mother was responsible for Rāma's exile. Without any hesitation he dissociates from his mother and pleads with Rāma to return to Ayodhyā. In this state of helplessness Rāma assures Bharata that he is competent enough to rule the kingdom and advises on the need to adhere to dharma which alone should guide every one in difficult situations.

When Sītā wanted Rāma to follow the path of the sages and not to engage him self in vanquishing the demons that troubled the sages, Rāma tells her that it is the dharma of Kṣatriya to redeem the sages of the suffering. Rāma replies that he may abandon his life or Sītā or Lakṣmaṇa but not his promise especially to the sages as it is his dharma. Rāma justifies his action in killing Bālī as righteous duty of Kṣatriya giving many reasons (3.11.6-11). Dharma is not a helpless mood of passivity but dynamic activity against the offenders of dharma. Rāma, did not like to listen to anything antagonistic (to dharma). He was displeased to hear words of Jābāli (one of the ministers of Daśaratha) who focussed only on artha in defiance of dharma (3-108.13) and

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advised Rāma to come to Ayodhyā disregarding his father's order. Rāma was angry with Jābāli but being predominantly righteous listened to Jābāli's advice respectfully. This shows that good people must be befriended for the purpose of understanding dharma. The great sage Vālmīki elucidated the same dharma in his Kāvya through the suggestive power of words in keeping with the dictum. "That is the excellent Kāvya where vyaṅgya, the suggestive sense is predominant". What is expressly stated there is of course the story of Rāma.

When Vibhīṣaṇa seeks asylum Rāma stood by him and makes him the king after killing Rāvaṇa. It is evident from these and many such in *Rāmāyaṇa* that for Rāma, dharma is above everything and for Lakṣmaṇa Rāma is everything. Rāma's aim is to maintain dharma to protect it at any cost whether he is in Ayodhyā or in exile. He was prepared to sacrifice his kingdom and his wife for maintaining the highest standard of life. Rāma is always guided by dharma. He is not only a paradigm of the ideal man, but also a model of discriminating choice.

Rāma is described by Nārada as dharmajña (1.1-2) meaning one who knows his duty viz. protecting those who resort to him. Rāma himself says (6.18.3), "I shall never give up one who has come to me as a friend, even if there be faults with him because this is not contemptible". By personal practice and propagation he established all types of dharma. He did not violate dharma even in the case of those who were behaving in an unrighteous manner. He was protecting the duties of such and such castes (varṇas) and stages (āśrama) of life also. Rāma was a protector of the duties of a ruler which was unique to his own position. By marrying Sītā he implemented dharma befitting his station of life.

To quote a few passages in *Rāmāyaṇa* which justify it as a treatise on dharma:

In Bālakāṇḍa (1-2) from the epithet 'Dharmajña', the expert on dharma, used in the question, 'who indeed, in this world -- it is understood that the great man (to whom the query refers) is only the one who is qualified with proficiency in dharma.

In Bālakāṇḍa (1-14), the words used by Nārada in his reply to Vālmīki's query are, 'Protector of his dharma' which also states the quality of protecting dharma.

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In Ayodhyākāṇḍa (21.30) Rāma himself says, 'Know me as equal to the sages devoted to dharma alone.'

In Ayodhyākāṇḍa (21.40) Rāma tells Kausalyā 'by following dharma all the other puruṣārthas can be gained.'

In Ayodhyākāṇḍa (25.3) conferring her blessings on Rāma at the time of parting from him Kausalyā says, "May that dharma which you have been upholding with constancy and courage stand by you and guard you always."

In Ayodhyākāṇḍa (100.63, 64) Rāma asks Bharata "Do not oppose dharma by artha or artha by dharma or both by kāma, intent on gratifying the senses.

In Āraṇyakāṇḍa (37-13) Mārīca the antagonist of dharma, says, 'Rāma is dharma incarnate'. These words also state that Rāma is only a visible form of dharma.

In Yuddhakāṇḍa (25.27) Śuka says about Rāma, 'Dharma does not swerve from him and he does not swerve from dharma'; again in the same kāṇḍa (91-73) Lakṣmaṇa says 'kill this son of Rāvaṇa, O my shaft, if Rāma is the essence of dharma, if he is true to his pledge and is matchless in valour.' These words of Lakṣmaṇa, which are of the nature of a pledge, also state that the real nature of Rāma is dharma.

In the same kāṇḍa (120.6) Brahmā says to Rāma, 'You are the supreme dharma of this world'.

On the contrary looking at the prowess and glory of Rāvaṇa, Hanuman says 'All the splendour of Rāvaṇa will invest him with overlordship of all the gods and Indras also if only his adharma was not powerful and stood in his way' (5.49.18), meaning that all these will eventually vanish not being grounded on dharma. All these justify that the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates the true story of Rāma, proficient in dharma, a strict follower of injunctions of dharma and is the very essence of dharma. This would not stand to reason unless the sole purpose of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is to elucidate dharma. Hence dharma as the import of *Rāmāyaṇa* is justified.

"Whenever dharma decays, O Arjuna, and adharma prevail, I take birth'. 'I am born in every era to establish dharma by protecting the saintly and destroying the evil doers'. These words of Lord Kṛṣṇa in

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the Bhagavad Gītā also confirm that all the incarnations of Viṣṇu are purported to re-establish the dharma by protecting the saintly and punishing the wicked. Moreover, from the words of Makhi, that 'merit is in compliance with the Vedas' or 'the lord bestowed them for the enrichment of the Vedas' it is clearly known that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is composed in compliance with the Vedas and is intended to enrich the import of the Vedas. The Vedas are that which expound dharma as is known from words like 'The entire Vedas are the origin of dharma' or 'Vedas are the root of dharma'. Enrichment of that Vedas or compliance with that of Vedas are unfounded unless the essence of *Rāmāyaṇa* too, is dharma. So, advocating the theory that dharma is the import of *Rāmāyaṇa*, stands to reason says Makhi (1916).

Īkṣvāku kings are said to have followed dharma scrupulously in their kingdom (1.5.5-6). Brahmā gave this earth to Prajāpati referred here as Manu. Manu felt that he must take care of this earth by protecting the varṇas and the āśramas and that by punishing the wicked the good must be looked after in the holy-land of Āryāvarta. Manu imparted instructions (to the king) to look after the kingdom in a righteous manner through his Smṛti intended to establish the order of scriptural injunctions in the religious matters for performing the Vedic rituals. He also passed on the secrets of karmayoga to Īkṣvāku whom he adopted as a son as is stated in the *Bhagavadgītā*. "I explained this (Karma) yoga to Vivasvata. Vivasvata in course narrated the same to Manu and Manu later passed it on to Īkṣvāku " (*Bhag.Gītā* 4.1). The word yoga here refers to Karmayoga as is expounded by the lord in the *Gītā*. Sages have recognised only Āryāvarta as a holy land on this earth as a standard of ideal conduct. The customs and practices followed there by people set the standard of ideal conduct'. Īkṣvāku kings and others in Ayodhyā took care of the earth righteously and handed over the responsibility of the kingdom to their respective sons in due time and went to reside in forests during vānaprastha, the third stage of life. Describing the kings of Īkṣvāku race, Kālidāsa says that they followed this course of life as a vow (Makhi, 1916 pp 16).

It is clearly known that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is composed in compliance with the Vedas and is intended to enrich the import of the Vedas. Vālmīki

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composed *Rāmāyaṇa* to present to posterity a practical philosophy of life, a vision of truth by telling how to lead a dhārmic life within the prevailing circumstances of one's external conditions.

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